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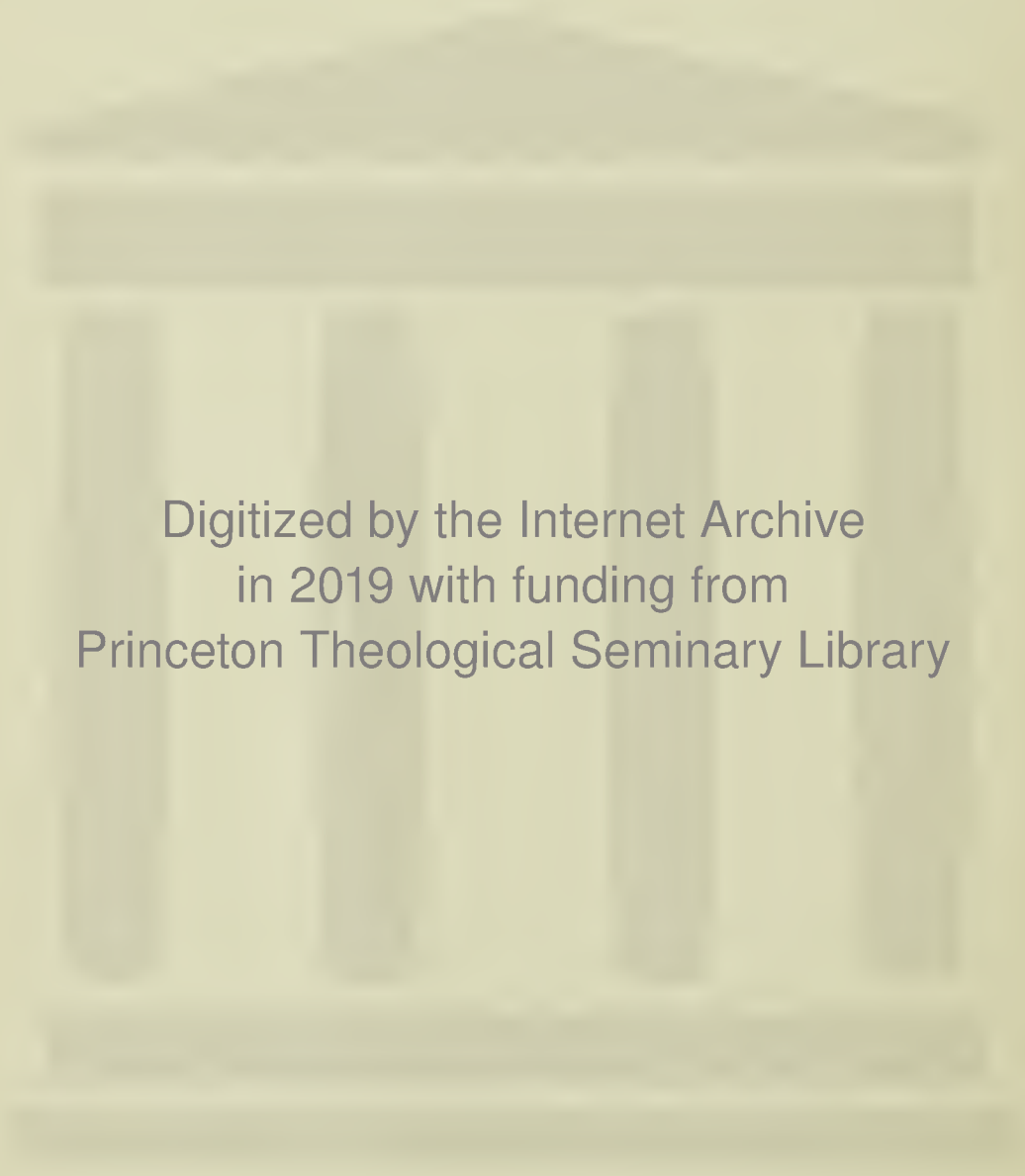
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Living Together

Studies in the Ministry of Reconciliation

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By
FRANCIS JOHN McCONNELL
One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church

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NOTE

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FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL.

CONTENTS

I

LIVING TOGETHER—PRESUPPOSITIONS

The most urgent question before the Christian world to-day concerns the possibility of Christianity's helping men to live together. We, of course, recognize this duty in the more immediate personal contacts, as in our relations to our families and to our closer neighbors. Have not our Ten Commandments told us not to steal, nor to bear false witness, nor to commit adultery, nor to covet, nor to kill? While the facts of private quarrels and of broken homes are as numerous as they are we would not boast that we have made complete success of the Christian religion even in these narrower fields, but we have done something. The Christian family—or possibly the increasing Christianization of the family—is probably the largest single item of social gain thus far to be put down to humanity's credit.

When we look away to the wider social

activities our discouragement begins. Social classes, nations, races are arrayed against each other to-day as never before. If we reflect for just an instant on the possibilities of destruction lodged in our modern scientific knowledge, we are, in moments of particularly deep depression, tempted to ask if we are not already entering into that twilight of civilization whose imminence is the theme of so many despairing social students to-day. In our childhood we used to frighten ourselves with pictures of a Day of Judgment on which by divine decree the world and all therein would perish in huge conflagration. The child's fear of a divinely caused cosmic explosion and catastrophe has given way to the man's fear of a humanly caused holocaust in which all traces of civilization may pass in flame and smoke. Only one great nation has succeeded in achieving social stability through four thousand years, and that is the very simple social organism called China. Wall in China for a thousand years and at the end of that time China would be going on about as now. Wall in Christendom for a thousand

years and at the end of the time there might not be anything or anybody left.

The first response of the church to the present plight of the world is a call to evangelism, by which is meant the individual's turning from his sins and his consecration to unceasing battle with sin and selfishness. I would not by an ounce of power minimize the importance of this appeal to individualistic evangelism. It will not alone, however, solve our problems. May I, with all respect to the evangelistically minded, say that an emphasis on individualistic evangelism alone might make our peril more acute? For the attack of such individualism is so thoroughly on individual sin and selfishness that the quickening of individual unselfishness might lead the newly aroused convert to a passionate devotion to a cause socially wrong. It might lead him to headlong sacrifice in a war in which he personally would reveal the noblest unselfishness for a cause socially selfish. A distinguished military leader once urged upon me the need of preaching forgiveness of sins and faith in God and immortality to soldiers

going into battle, for the sake of making them better fighters. We can see here at once the possibility of utilizing personal unselfishness for the purpose of intensifying group selfishness.

We are in no better plight in the field of industry. The personal conversion of selfish employers or selfish labor leaders might make them more convinced of the righteousness of their own policies. So also in the sphere of racial contacts. In that field the patronizing attitude of a white man toward a black or yellow man, or of even a missionary toward a convert from heathenism, might be practically only little better than outright neglect. A patronizing spirit in such relationships is a curse, yet an individual's own tendency to patronize might be increased with an emphasis on personal unselfishness. If we are to make Christianity count as a force helping men to live together in industrial, national, and racial intimacies, there must of necessity be emphasis on bringing institutional and group activities under the power of Christianity. This does not mean that we are

to go forth on an arid campaign of dealing with impersonal social factors. We are to try to help persons see the longer reaches of their personal power, and their responsibility, at least to a degree, for the farther reaches of that power. John Fiske used to say that the invention of the telescope and microscope was the same as the addition to human beings of new eyes, and Lotze once whimsically remarked that even the extension of human reach through a walking stick is an extension of personality. To vary the figure we may look upon ourselves as trigger-pullers or lever-pullers. The man who pulls the trigger is at least partly responsible for what the bullet strikes, and he who manipulates a lever cannot well claim that he did not know that hammers would pound and cog-wheels tear and saws bite. We can, of course, easily overdo the individual responsibility here, as in any dealing with a social organization, but I am trying to state the conception in personal rather than impersonal terms. The institutions under which we work are man-made, or men-made. Men are running the institutions to-day.

Let us push this just a little further. We all admit the importance of some social creations—like language, for example. Man made language. Man made laws. Even if the laws are formulated customs, the customs are the customs of people. We live in a man-made world. Look at a land like China. Of course the all-inclusive natural forces are mightily determinative, but within the network of these forces there is play enough for human activities to justify us in saying that even the soil of China has been so worked over by human hands through four thousand years that it is virtually a man-made soil. So with any preeminently agricultural country. Muscle and brain are almost literally mixed with the earth.

At this point some one will say that the social forces of the world are themselves bringing men closer together and that these new spatial contacts are solving the problems of men's living together. There is a dreadful fallacy here, the fallacy that spatial contact of itself makes for spiritual fellowship. It may do nothing of the sort. There is a stage in personal and group

civilization when persons and peoples need fences. They feel better toward one another when they are not in too close touch. A community has come far along toward Christian fellowship when the neighbors can take down their fences. The experience of the last fifty years can hardly be cited in proof of the growth of transportation systems as harbingers of new spiritual contacts. A road may be a means of spiritual communication, but we have to take account of who is on the road and what he is on the road for. The closer some people and peoples get to one another the more danger of clash and bitterness.

What we have said about institutions being in the last analysis personal rather than impersonal may seem a counsel of despair. Even if it is all true, if institutions are the extension of personal activities, what can one individual do? That is just the point. One individual alone cannot do much. That is why I protest against his being considered alone. I would try to make the individual see his own long radius of power and to see also

the multiplication of his forces when he sets himself to work with his fellows. Two men seeking to influence the thinking of their time are not two arithmetically. There is more than even a geometrical increase of personal forces when men in larger and larger groups take to acting purposely. Institutions that have grown up in an absent-minded fashion can be changed as men set their minds to work on them. A shrewd publicist once said that England became an empire automatically in a fit of absent-mindedness. That may be, but she cannot remain an empire except as she goes at her problems in present-minded fashion, with millions of men the world round deliberately cooperating in a common task.

Looking now at some principles which must guide us in our attempts as Christians to help men live together, we remark first that all Christian contacts must base themselves on regard for the inalienable sacredness of every person. If we could once get social, national, and international groups to a basis of mutual appreciative

respect, many of our problems would solve themselves. It seems hopelessly trite and commonplace to say that men should always be approached as men, but some day that trite and commonplace observation will take on the force of a new discovery, significant enough fairly to stagger the world into a realization of the enormity of some social processes. Ought men be asked to do work that could be shifted to steel arms? Ought men be asked to run the risk of disease and degradation in inhuman living conditions? Ought men be ordered into dug-outs or poisoned with deadly gas or blown to bits for the sake of the capture of sources of raw material? Ought men of lower development in tropical lands live under systems of compulsory labor imposed by men of professedly higher development? Simple questions like these, insistently put, may change or finally overthrow whole economic and social systems. The Christian must start with a man's worth on his own account. The student of society tells us that we can never have social peace without social like-mindedness. The chief element in Chris-

tian like-mindedness is the common recognition of the worth of a man as a man.

Let me use an illustration to suggest that some things must not be done to men, no matter what the character of the men themselves. I know a community which during the last war became filled with blackest hatred against the foes of the United States. There was in that community a man of foreign birth who persisted in saying wildly unpatriotic things against the United States. One night a group of citizens drove this alien through the streets with a horse's bit fastened between his teeth. As soon as the war fever began to die down the better citizens of the community repented in deep bitterness of the outrage upon the alien. In what did the outrage consist? The man was not hurt. No blows were struck. His property was not destroyed. After the one act against him he was not further molested. There had been no doubt as to the unpatriotic nature of his utterances. By the law of the land he was liable to imprisonment or at least internment. Why, then,

the bitterness of repentance? Because a human ideal had been sinned against. A man had been treated in a way in which no man ever should be treated, no matter what he has done, for even the punishments of men should conform to the regards of essential humanity. Respect for humanity in myself and in others is the first step toward the reconciliation of groups and of nations and of races. In spite of what I have previously said against impersonalism there has to be a trace of something almost impersonal here. A particular individual may not be himself especially respectable, and it is hard to give respect long to what is not inherently respectable. The matter is not wholly one of the personal desert of the individual. The individual is made in fashion as a man, and since he is a man he must be treated as a man. He has an inalienable title to our Christian respect, no matter who he is, or what he is, or whether he does or does not care anything about such matters himself. While we cannot in detail tell how to state the claim of humanity on all occasions, in general the Chris-

tian must found a new society on the basis that these claims are absolute. Fundamentally all men stand alike on the one plane of their humanity.

Now, let us step over to another point of view and talk in phrases which may seem to contradict what we have just been saying. If there is something which we hold as absolute in the claim of a man because he is a man, there is something also admittedly relative in the same claim, which is for the cynic excuse for bitter sport and for the Christian the ground for the largest charity. While men are all alike men, it is also true that even the best men and the best groups are in process of continual improvement. It has been said that the loftiest characteristic of man is his capability for being endlessly improved. We are not dealing with finished creations when we are dealing with men. We have not to do with animals on the one hand, or with angels on the other, but with beings capable of passing out of animalism into a state better than that of any angels which have ever been described to us. All men are men, with the differ-

ences between them slight and insignificant as compared with the difference between man and anything below him in the scale of being. Still, the differences between men and the differences between social groups and nations and races do count. It is a plain duty to recognize these differences, but to distinguish differences in differences. For some differences between groups come out of the differing rates of progress of the groups, and some differences may have a deep root pointing to something distinctive in the group. The absoluteness of man as man and the relativity of men as men are alike real.

We have said that this relativity of development is a ground for social charity. Lacking such charity it is easy to make an individual or group appear hypocritical and false because of a contradiction in character or activity. With the more charitable view the contradiction is seen to be between the part of the nature or of the life which has been brought under moral control, it may be, and the part which has not. Redemption of human life is like the clearing away of a jungle or the drain-

ing of a swamp. We do not call the redeemer of the land false or hypocritical because not all the forest or swamp is conquered. We simply say that the work is not yet complete. So when we come upon oozy swamps in social life, or stand at the edge of a social jungle and hear the tigers call, all that is necessary to say is that the work of redemption is not yet perfect. It has, moreover, been established of old that social misdeeds are not to be branded as purposely wicked if they are not recognized by their doers as evil. To those who know better these things are sin, but they may not involve for the people who ignorantly practice them the moral upset which comes from open-eyed sinning against an ideal. Polygamy, infanticide, and such evils are largely passing away even among backward peoples, thank Heaven, but among backward peoples they have never meant the moral obliquity they would have meant among twentieth-century Americans or Europeans. Without lowering our own standards we are morally obligated to train ourselves to see how life looks through eyes other than our own,

so far as such a feat of spiritual imagination is humanly possible.

In seeking social progress the Christian ought not to forget that he is dealing with living organisms, be these organisms individuals or groups of individuals. The Christian message that Christ is the Key to the meaning of man's life and of God's life, will have to be stated in such terms that it can be seized by life processes. It is food, drink, air! It must be seized as all nourishment is seized—by an effort and appropriation of will. The word of Jesus is not merely to be listened to, but to be consumed, to be taken into the life as the rule of life.

It is in awaiting this appropriation of the truth by an organism that we have need of patience, patience, and still more patience. There is no telling beforehand where obedient acceptance of the life of Christ will lead either an individual or a group. Some of the truth as we present it will be worked over and discarded; some of it will be fused with elements of which we have never thought; some of it will be endowed with an energy of which we had

no premonitions. All formal statements are instrumental. When we give a group a gospel we give a tool or a food or a garment. That group may fashion over the tool to new purposes, or out of the food may build a type of physical strength we did not foresee, or wear the garments in a fashion utterly unlike anything ever before seen. Paul once said that he was sure that life could not separate him from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. If we are dealing with real life, that life will lead us to and not away from Christ. We are all a little afraid to let the life in Christ run its full course in social realms, but the life would and could lead only to Christ.

It is out of some clear recognition that we are all human beings and out of some charitableness of mutual understanding and tolerance toward human differences that we shall finally succeed in finding ways to live together as groups. May I say also that this intelligent charity and regard will finally have to go far enough to respect persons and groups whom we cannot fully understand and whose peculiarities may not come merely out of the stage of human

experience through which they are passing. The peculiarities may be part of the native furnishing of the individual or group mind, and I may not be able to bring myself to adequate understanding of or sympathy with them. Assuming that these distinctive marks do not come of antisocial purpose and are not being put upon me, what is to be my attitude toward those who hold them? Tolerance. It may be that some group views are a necessity of the life of human beings of temperament radically different from my own; it may be that they are the expression of social moods to which I cannot attain. It may be also, in a word, that they are literally and strictly none of my business. What, in the name of all that is human, is to be the use of living together if everybody is always to live out in the full glare of publicity, with no thoughts peculiarly anybody's own? One reason for the search for a way to live together better is to get rid of the features of social existence which hinder our attending to our own spiritual business, or thwart our being partisans of our own chosen groups, or fighters for our

own ideas. The tolerance I mean does not imply a stupid impartiality. It implies liberty for partialities.

Was it not Edward Bellamy who told of a psychic isle where a shipwrecked traveler found the natives laughing every time he tried to speak? After a little it dawned upon him that the strange islanders were laughing just because he was speaking, whereas the psychic conditions were such that all his thoughts lay open and exposed to the psychic islanders without the use of words. If that is a picture of a fully socialized group, I don't want to join it. We are not indeed to harbor selfish or mean secrets, but we are to hold to an inviolable sacredness of personal life—no harm in calling it absolutely sacred—on which we must build if we are to live together on terms that make life worth living. John Dewey spoke profoundly when he said of the Chinese, for example, that the Chinese faults come largely out of the fact that from the cradle to the grave the Chinese live too much under the scrutiny of one another. The life is too public, without enough of the privacy

which makes for the peculiar and distinctive.

All of my discussion proceeds on the assumption of democratic method, of course, with the majority vote settling all ordinary questions. Democracy assumes that men will be good losers and that they will adjust themselves to the decisions of the majority, either to give that decision its chance or to work for its repeal by orderly method. Often it happens that the outworking of a decisive vote accepted in good faith leads even the opponents of the vote to concede its wisdom. In all democracy, however, there must be care for the preservation of everything that is worth while in the distinctiveness of the separate life.

Another prerequisite of Christian living together is the possibility of absorption of various groups in common tasks. There was in a far-off period of church history a debate about the doctrine of the Trinity which seems singularly remote to us of to-day. In fact, it is so remote that it seems almost unearthly in its lack of con-

nection with anything that now appears real. The debate had to do with the so-called *filioque* clause in the old creed. The question was as to whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father in an orthodox interpretation of the Trinity.

It is hard to believe that such a question as this ever could have been discussed outside of theological schools, and it is equally hard to see how it could have been discussed in the schools in any but an academic fashion. Still the *filioque* clause was once the theme of heated, even angry debates, not only in the schools but upon the streets. Of course, much of the popular debate had to do with other than strictly theological, or even religious, concerns. Loyalty to leaders and devotion to parties entered in to add fire to the arguments. Nevertheless, there were two important theological considerations at stake. One, as we all know, had to do with the place which was to be assigned to Christ in the universe. Was he equal to the Father? It may not be too much to say that the future of Christianity turned upon the

answer to that question, and it was around that question that the debate chiefly centered.

The other theological question was not so clearly on the surface, but it was implied in the debate nevertheless. The old theologies were trying to get a ground of unity in the Godhead. They did not conceive of the Trinity as three independent Gods. They united Son and Spirit to the Father by a thought of "procession" which it is a strain for us to follow; and more important than philosophical unity in the Godhead, in their thought, was spiritual unity. They early saw that Father and Son could not vitally be united if each were just the object of the loving gaze of the other. So they made the forth-going of the Spirit a mighty enterprise in which each was alike implicated. The fellowship of Father and Son was a fellowship in the Spirit, in the sending forth of the Spirit and in the on-goings of the Spirit. Father and Son were to find their fellowship not in gazing directly upon one another, but in a vast putting forth of energy, with a common aim, upon a common object. The

early thinkers of the church were trying to found a Divine Society in the life of God himself, and they made the Spirit the bond of union between Father and Son.

We may not argue for the Trinity to-day in the terms of the church Fathers. Nevertheless, there is at the heart of this old phrasing of the doctrine of the Trinity a truth from which we can never escape, namely, that fellowship is an affair of more than two and of at least three. To be sure, the third factor may be impersonal, but the fellowship of two depends for its full realization on the devotion of both to something outside themselves. Fellowship does not arise just out of the resolution of individuals or groups to be fellows one of another. Fellowship is a by-product, issuing out of the devotion of persons or groups of persons to some common cause.

This is obvious enough when we stop to think about it, and it becomes clearer the longer we think. Commonplace as the principle appears at first sight, it begins to reach out to far-ranging social implications upon a little close examination.

Take the institution which is thus far,

with all its faults, the outstanding achievement of our race—the human family. John Fiske's contribution to the doctrine of evolution consisted in showing the significance of the lengthening period of infancy for mankind. It is true that Fiske was not directly concerned with the thought to which I am now calling attention, but the idea which I have in mind fits harmoniously into his teaching—the idea, namely, that fellowship between husband and wife deepens into true marriage not with the direct attachment of husband and wife to each other merely, but with their absorption in their duties as father and mother. True love must always be the foundation of the home, but love becomes not less but more true with the devotion to a common object of their interested affection. Hence that strange paradox which we so often find in married life—that the more love seeks to confine itself directly to husband and wife the more likely it is to vanish, and the more the two throw themselves together into a common task the more likely is their affection for each other to deepen. Thus it

comes about that normally, with full allowance for the abnormal and exceptional, the home in which there are children is likely to be the scene of greatest affection between husband and wife. On the other hand, the childless home is always in danger unless the husband and wife find some cause into which they can together throw their united energies.

These chapters of mine will to the casual reader seem at many points to be in contradiction to one another. In one place I say that marriage is contrived to help both men and women lead distinctive lives. I am not, however, in fundamental contradiction with that when I say that marriage aims at partnership also of common effort. The modern movement toward separate careers for married women is commendable enough within limits, these limits being set by the necessity of both the man and the woman finding some cause in which they can work together. Love in courtship may grow with the direct attention of the lovers to each other. In married life it is more likely to grow with the devotion of both to a common task.

The problem of living together comes down in the end to the formation of friendships, or, at least, of a friendly spirit. We must insist that the best friendships do not come from the direct attempt of people to be friendly to one another. There is indeed always need of our cultivation of the ability to take the other man's point of view, but we must add to this that the highest friendship arises almost of itself out of devotion to common tasks.

This indirectness of attainment of fellowship is a mark of the Christian system. It has been taught from the beginning that the chief path to knowledge of God is not the direct contemplation of God. Direct contemplation of God Christianity does indeed call for, but the main path is through doing the will of God. It will be remembered that at the close of the Sermon on the Mount Jesus tells us that the foundation under the superstructure of the Christian building is laid deep as men "do" their Master's words. The appeal is to an activity of will which loses itself in the Christian task. On the foundation thus laid men attain to a certainty of con-

viction concerning religious truth, an awareness of the value of divine things, a keenness of spiritual insight which we have in mind when we talk of communion with God. There is indeed ample place for the man who starts out deliberately to be a friend of God, but the friendship will never get far just on a basis of standing still to contemplate God. Such contemplation is the essence of some heathen religions.

It may seem to some that we have turned things around in trying to make friendship for God throw light upon friendship for men. We are, however, trying to look at this problem from the point of view of Christianity. Christian fellowship for one's fellow is on the same plane as Christian fellowship with God. We come into fellowship with God by working with God, and we come into fellowship with our fellows in working with them. If I am to work together with God, I start on the assumption that God understands me, and that I must understand him. Beyond that the deeper understanding comes out of devotion to a common task.

There are three distinct and progressive

notes of emphasis in Christian experience. The first is one's own consciousness of need of salvation. It would be folly in any way to minimize this. The saints have started on their saintly careers in this concern for themselves. The second note is that of emphasis on the service of our fellows. When this reaches such intensity of devotion to our fellow men that we no longer insistently raise the question as to our own spiritual state we are most genuinely saved ourselves. There is a third emphasis, namely, that on an increasing awareness of a divine plan in the world for which we should seek to work in cooperation with our fellows. This reaches out beyond the needs of any group with which we may be in immediate contact. In one sense it is impersonal, "a cause," "a plan," "a world scheme," though it must always be interpreted in personal terms. These three stages are, while intermingled beyond the drawing of sharp demarcations, nevertheless separate phases of experience into which men come by processes of spiritual new birth.

I am loath to leave this conception of

growth of fellowship through devotion to common tasks. How far do we get into fellowship with the man who is professedly and openly trying to be a friend? The world, of course, needs such deliberate friendliness, but that is not the surest path to expression of the friendly spirit. Suppose a hostess bent on having her guests friendly to one another should welcome a group of persons mutually strangers with a general exhortation to them all to get acquainted with one another. An evening spent after such an introduction as that to strangers would bore a normal person almost to suffocation. For mutual acquaintance-making there must be something outside ourselves in which we can lose ourselves. That something may for the moment be trivial enough, or silly enough, but it serves the purpose of bringing us together on such terms that we are not thinking of ourselves. Self-consciousness will spoil anything from a social party to a campaign for the evangelization of the world. The spiritual excellences which call forth the admiring friendship of men do not come out of deliberate and purpose-

ful striving. I have heard George Herbert Palmer tell of a dinner in Cambridge years ago at which the men then foremost in American letters were guests. Somehow the idea got about that these shining lights were expected to say things intentionally and purposefully brilliant. The lights, thus aroused to self-consciousness, paled into dimness and then feebly sputtered into darkness. There was no more brilliancy than among a party of imbeciles. On the other hand, if anything could have made all present forget themselves in the discussion of a theme outside themselves, there would no doubt have been bright flashes enough. So with friendship, with comradeship, with saintliness. All arrive as something outside themselves is the chief aim.

The more serious this common aim the deeper the fellowship. Airy nothings, trifles light as air, may do for the purely social event. Even skill in dancing, or proficiency in social conventional games, may act as the substitute for something more worth while with those whose mental resources are limited, though the friend-

ships founded on such bases are not to be taken with especial seriousness. Deeper comradeship begins where men take to "talking shop," and deeper still when the life moves out in the direction of making the world safe for anything worth while.

We shall return to this theme repeatedly throughout our discussion. We shall have much to say about getting together, but the getting together is to break away from the self-centered policies of any parties to the getting together. There is proceeding in almost all the larger social groups to-day a double movement, an intensification of the activities of the particular groups themselves and at the same time a trend toward larger federative connections. This is true in industrial, ecclesiastical, political relationships. The trade unions that lay the most stress on comradeship in their own crafts seek alliances with more inclusive groups. The denominations that place the greatest emphasis on close communion reach out after some alliance with other denominations. The nations that stand most stiffly for self-determination call for a league of nations. There are

many reasons for this. One is that each group instinctively feels that it may lose its own closeness of fellowship among its own members if it has not some considerable outside contact to which those members may give themselves with at least a measure of self-abandonment.

Granting all this to be true, what can the Christian do about it? He can at least call for a wider application of Christianity. In what I said about evangelism in an earlier paragraph I was, of course, thinking of evangelism in the narrowly individualistic sense. As I draw to the close of this first address I wish to say that a larger evangelism is the only solution of the problem before us. All the terms of which we so often make use in evangelistic appeal are in order in helping men to live together in the wider contacts. We need to get rid of sin, to repent, to be converted and born again; but we must put a richer content into the old terms.

We know that it is the individual who is the only actual reality in the social organism. The social gospel is a gospel for

individuals in social relationships. We are not asking an impersonal social organism to repent. We are asking individuals to repent, and to be born again in their social relationships. A man's central purpose as an individual may be converted, but the conversion may not extend to his wider contacts. This does not imply hypocrisy. It means merely an imperfect work of grace, or, at least, an incomplete or unenlightened work.

The wider conversion calls first of all for the direct attack on the evils which make contacts between man and man harmful rather than helpful. Christianity does not, indeed, throw anything away; that is to say, Christianity never leaves an empty place. It does not destroy for the sake of destroying, but for the sake of fulfilling. Nevertheless, Christianity does directly attack evil. Just as a health officer fares forth positively to kill disease germs so Christianity wars on the germs of selfishness, of group selfishness as well as of individual selfishness. Christianity calls for collective repentance as soon as collective evils are discovered. How can a man

repent for something of which he is not individually guilty? How can a man feel guilty of something which is the sin of thousands among whom he is just one? I don't know. All I do know is that saints throughout all ages have thus felt guilty for the sins which men do collectively. To speak theologically, there is hardly a theory of atonement in the history of Christian doctrine that teaches that sin is only the sum of the individual sins of individual sinners. Almost every theory conceives of sin as not merely individual but also as collective. Sin binds men together as an evil net. In the older theories, it came down to men by descent and tainted them all. The provision in Christ was not only for individuals as distinct, but for men in their connection as members of a sin-cursed race. There is a large measure of social redemption which can come only as the prophets of God call upon people for repentance for collective sin. In such preaching the prophets are not making a departure from Christianity, but a return to it.

Again, we need to be told to "turn," to

be converted in our social activities. Conversion, on the human side, is turning. It is possible for men, every one of whom has been converted in the narrower meaning, to be in their collective movement going in the wrong direction. We are like men on a ship—walking the deck toward the east while the boat itself is carrying us west. The need of repentance appears in the fact that if we all together choose to have it so, we can change the course of the ship. In some of our activities as members of groups and churches and nations and races we need to bring the boat squarely around. We are headed west when we should be headed east. Or if we are not headed dead wrong, we are enough off the course to be in peril ourselves and to be a peril to others.

Once more, to keep close to the gospel phrase, we need to be "born again." We have got so far away from some of those essentials of which I have been speaking, from regard for men as men, from the duty of dealing charitably with men as men, from the duty of seeking fellowship with men in cooperation in common tasks, that

we need to be born again into a new world wherein dwelleth collective righteousness.

Now, some men will say that new birth into a new world can only mean the destruction of the present order. Such objection forgets that I am talking about birth, which is a natural process, preceded by natural processes and leading out to life in which natural processes rule. Births are revolutionary only as life is revolutionary. Moreover, Christian birth is a birth in the spirit. Men in society need to be born into a new spirit. It is conceivable that in particular instances birth into a new spirit which makes possible better living together may not involve any inevitable change in what this or that man does. A fisherman born by conversion into the kingdom of God does not necessarily cease to be a fisherman. He ceases to be selfish, or cynical, or dishonest. A new spirit henceforth pervades all that he does. The change is at bottom in the realm of spirit, both with individuals and with groups.

We must be born again. Even if the present social and political and interna-

tional order is all that its advocates claim for it, we need a new birth into the Divine Spirit if we are to live together as Christians. If social systems are not all that their advocates claim for them, the necessary changes can best be made by those who have been born into newness of spirit. Industry, politics, governments need to be converted, born again, baptized by the Holy Spirit into newness of spirit. Men in all these various social activities—no matter how high their attainments in personal character in the narrower individual circles—need to give heed to the age-old words of invitation to the Supper of the Lord, namely, that all those who are in love and charity with their neighbors and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God and walking henceforth in his holy ways, should draw near with faith!

When Jesus cried out in heart-broken pity over the Jerusalem that stoned the prophets and that turned away from him who would shelter her children against the eagles whose shadows were already falling around them, it is not to be imagined that he was thinking of unrelated dwellers in

Jerusalem, a census of separate and distinct individuals. He was thinking of the dwellers in Jerusalem in the relations which filled them with that Jerusalem spirit which made the prophets' lot a martyrdom; of the collective blindness which made Jerusalem, populated as it was with excellent, well-meaning individuals, a symbol for a society which as a society knew not the day of its visitation.

May I urge again that reconciliation of groups must, however, always come back for its justification to the enlarged life of the individuals in the group. There will always be something of a paradox here: the more real the reconciliation the more each individual will stand for his own point of view; the closer men come together the farther they will be apart; the wider the range of their group interests the more they will think of the persons closest to them. If reconciliation means that sentiment for humanity in general is to lessen the devotion to our friends and relatives and neighbors, we care not for it; but it does not mean that. It provides a basis for thoroughly Christian respect and

cooperation among men, but it does not mean that we are all to dabble in one another's business, or to think thoughts that have everybody's sanction, or to love everybody alike in the affectional sense. We do not have to make the world inane to make it Christian.

To sum up: Enterprises looking toward genuinely Christian living together, especially on the part of social groups, must keep in mind the absoluteness of human values, the relativity, so to speak, of human beings in native endowment and development, the need of absorption in various forms of cooperation which reveal the powers of individual men to themselves and to one another.

II

IS CHURCH UNITY POSSIBLE?

The church of the present day no sooner fares forth to teach men, as members of a society split up into diverse and opposed classes, nations, and races, the art of living together, than the critic cries out: "Set your own house in order. Religious groups have been the most quarrelsome groups in history. Religious debates have been more bitterly argued, religious wars more desperately fought, religious persecution more unrelentingly pursued than any other debates or wars or persecutions. To-day the organized Christianity which preaches peace to the world is deeply cleft into hostile segments."

If the church is to do its part in helping men to live together, she will surely have to heed and deal with this criticism. It does not quite meet the case to say that the criticism is overdrawn. Most critics of the church are indeed out of touch with

present day organized Christianity. It is simply not true that religious organizations are fighting among themselves. Still, we must admit that there is not anything which makes clear to the ordinary observer outside of the church the extent to which the various religious groups are succeeding in living together. We must pull the agreements among the religious groups into full view, not only for the enlightenment of the outsider but for the encouragement of ourselves.

We may well be thankful that there are some general forces which to-day are bringing the religious groups together. First, and probably least important of all, is the emphasis on efficiency coming out of a time which talks much of results. Money is being wastefully spent in needless reduplication of ecclesiastical and humanitarian effort. The objection is not that too much is being spent, but that it is being spent wrongfully. Again, the pressing social questions of our time cannot be attacked successfully by religious groups working separately. Social advance comes out of changes in the social climate, and

climate must be more than what a wag called the climate of New England, a mere assortment of weathers. Again, the Great War has left Christianity badly discounted before the so-called non-Christian nations. If its missionary enterprise is to succeed as it should, the religious groups must so get together and work together as not to suggest to the non-Christian mind the thought of schism in Christianity. The sheer peril of failure confronting Christianity makes for church unity.

There are other and deeper forces making for close friendliness. Think of the increasingly general agreement that, after all, the test of Christianity is the kind of life it produces. A good deal has been made of the deplorable ignorance of American youth concerning the fundamentals of Christianity as that ignorance was revealed by examination of the millions of young men who enrolled in training for the Great War. There was, indeed, dense ignorance of the so-called doctrinal aspects of Christianity and of the meaning of ecclesiastical differences, but there was surprising recognition of the fact that Christians are sup-

posed to act like Christ; not that there was ever a formal definition of what being like Christ is, but the standard was there nevertheless, and by that standard men were judged. The church has this to her outstanding credit, that, in spite of all her faults, she has driven into the common consciousness the understanding that Christianity is likeness to Christ for men—and for God too for that matter.

There is common recognition that Christianity means likeness to Christ. The church, then, becomes a group of people at least seeking to serve the Christlike God by living the Christlike life. If this is true, the church as an organization of persons is the fundamental fact, and the church on the organizational side, the side of doctrinal statement and organizational law, is instrumental. All these secondary features have to meet the Master's own test, "By their fruits ye shall know them." The doctrine, or the ritual, or the church code of laws, is the food upon which the Christian lives, or the house in which he dwells, or the garment which keeps him warm, or the weapon with which he fights, or the

tool with which he builds. All these go for final justification to the life of persons which they foster.

This is not to disparage the instruments of religious life or the means of grace. As instruments they are of immense importance. We must not look on them as utterly essential to the life of the church, but essential as ministers to that life. We have high authority for saying that the life is more than meat and the body more than raiment, but the more important the life the more important the meat and the raiment. The phrasing of doctrinal statement takes on new significance when it is seen to be as important as food or tool.

It is from this point of view that the study of doctrine must be approached, and only a flippant or shallow mind will approach even doctrines which are no longer important with careless or jaunty step. A doctrine means for its time food or raiment or sword. It must be understood in connection with its time. The older creedal statements, no matter how positive their terms, do not all carry with them now the power to convince us that they are

absolute truth valid from the point of view of the Absolute. They were originally statements in response to great popular demands, as the church met this or that particular crisis. How trifling the debate over Arianism seems to us now! The historians are probably right nevertheless who tell us that the whole history of Christianity and the whole future of Christianity were involved in the debate. It at bottom seems to have been a question as to the supremacy of Christ in the life of the time. We debate the same question, but in entirely different terms.

Put in this fashion, the problem as to religious argument changes. We are indeed debating to get as near the truth as we can, only the truth is not truth just by itself. It is truth with a reference to vital spiritual needs. The question is as to what will happen to the man who puts on this truth as a garment, or lives in it, or takes it as food, or starts out to build a new life with it. Theology is well worth debating over, but always with that human aim in view. Its value is not absolute. The

absolute value belongs to the people to whom it is to minister.

I would not keep too close to a merely utilitarian plane. The ministry of doctrine is not as prosaic or coarse as some of my expressions may have implied. The mediæval theologies have as companion masterpieces the mediæval cathedrals. Think for a moment of the cathedral as the expression of the religious spirit of the Middle Ages. It was a place of meeting for all the people of a village or town or city when they gave themselves to the worship of God. We marvel at the architectural skill of the building itself, which fitted it to its purpose. The old Romanesque churches lacked light. Their walls had to be so massive to carry the stone roofs that only small openings could be left for the light. Interiors were dark, and the church called for more light. Then by a miracle of builders' skill the architects found a way to centralize the weight of the stone roof by ribs carried to mighty pillars or columns reenforced by buttresses, the weight sometimes being carried over a side aisle by a flying buttress. Next the walls were

opened for the marvelous windows and the gorgeously colored light streamed in. The world of architecture has never seen a more complete solution of a substantially religious problem set by a given time than that of the Gothic cathedral.

Now, I must not stop here. The ministry of the cathedral did not stop short at supplying a meeting place for mediæval worshipers. It not only served the more prosaic needs of the people, but it also fed their souls through the revelation of an inexpressible beauty—and feeds souls to-day.

I stand by a French cathedral. Do I raise question as to the fitness of the cathedral merely as a meeting place? Do I complain that acoustic properties are not perfect, that there is no place for committee or church activities so dear to the modern parish? No. While conceding that a church building reproducing the full Gothic proportions and qualities would hardly be built to-day, I nevertheless sit speechless in the cathedral over a beauty which builds upon stone till the stone itself seems suffused with a timeless spiritual quality.

So it is with the doctrinal statements of other days. Augustine and Anselm could not write, if they were here to-day, in the terms with which in their day they led the thinking of the church. The Nicene statement comes of the age in which it was written. Yet many a mind, alert even to the newest statement of the truth, finds in the Nicene phrase something that ministers to his sense of the greatness of God in Christ. We judge the creed by the religious impact which it makes upon us.

This recognition of the life in Christ as the main factor, of the community of Christians as the end in itself, makes powerfully for the closer approach of Christian groups to one another. Let every man find Christ, but let him find him in his own way. Let him make his closest associates, if he chooses, among those like-minded with himself. A man's essential creed is the creed upon which he lives and which in turn comes out of his own life.

If we but look at doctrinal statements in this vital way, we shall find the solution to some formal contradictions which look

formidable on paper. We all know how propositions which are formally inconsistent with one another solve themselves, or, at least, get along together, in our personal experience. The age-old contradictions between the one and the many, between fixity and change, come nearest to solution in a life which knows itself to be one over against many, and which knows itself to be the same in the midst of change. So with the old, old debate as to free will and divine decree. The paradox is nowhere more strongly put than in that scriptural passage which tells us to work out our own salvation, for it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his own good pleasure. Moreover, our wills are ours to make them his!

There is danger, by the way, in overhaste to reconcile theological contradictions. Maybe the contradiction cannot be formally removed without doing harm to the truth stated in life terms, and it is with life terms that we are dealing. Even in the formal sense some contradictions are fruitful forces working for the progress of thought, forever insoluble and yet for-

ever provoking to fresh revelation of the Truth.

Is this recognition that the church deals primarily with the life of Christ in groups of his followers likely to bring us to some organization that will itself be a visible sign of the unity to which Christians are coming? Some such unity will surely come if the groups of Christians keep in mind two primary human characteristics never more clearly manifest than in social groups to-day—the desire for preservation of whatever is spiritually distinctive in the separate group lives on the one hand, and the desire for closer fellowship with all bodies of Christians on the other. I do not think this unity will ever come by any artificially efficient leveling process. We need the richness and fullness of variety and diversity in the kingdom of God. The one force that will at last bring us together will be a whole-hearted desire to spread the life of Christ among men. The one bond that will hold us together will be this desire joined to frank recognition of the legitimacy of all honest methods of seeking to further that main purpose.

In my Father's house are many mansions! Suppose we think of the church on earth as the vast home of the Father's children. Union would then mean living under the same roof as members of the Father's household. The rooms might be different. One might seem like a workshop, another like a library, another like an art gallery, another like a debating room, another like a social hall. There would be as many rooms as there are broad and general human types, for all these diversities have to be preserved for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.

Union is not helped on so much by the man who slackens his zeal for his religious group in the name of a loyalty for a general church, as by the man who seeks to make his group contribute distinctively to the Christian ideal at the same time that he increases his respect for all others in like groups who are working with a like aim. Paradoxical as it may sound, the man who is whole-heartedly loyal to his own group makes that group of such consequence everywhere that all other groups will desire union with it. Not every suitor wins

his lady's love by furiously definite and specific iteration of proposal for union. The most successful unions seem to come as each party to the union makes himself or herself worth having on his or her own account.

Let us return again and again to the demand for diversity in the divine kingdom. Marriage itself is aimed not to make men to resemble women or women to resemble men. Marriage in the true sense makes men more masculine and women more feminine. On the basis of the most thorough merging of two lives each stands out at the end more distinct on its own account. Political unions, of the right sort, by making possible a sharing of effort that can be shared, have left the separate units free to follow their own impulses in their own affairs. Suppose all the States in the American Union were entirely independent of one another. We should then have over forty little standing armies, forty lines of custom houses, forty little national governments. The chief waste then would be in the diversion of effort from the things the people of the separate States could best

do separately. It is one of the possibilities of the American system that each State has some room for distinctive political experiment on its own account. So with religious groups. If they could get near enough together to feel oneness at the same time that each tried to make its distinctive contribution, we would have the ideal religious society.

The differences between bodies of Christians who have come close enough together to feel a common loyalty to Christ are not so much formal and creedal as temperamental. Men feel a lack of something once they find themselves outside of their own group. They do not feel at home. If we are to deal with the church as a union of groups of human beings, we must not neglect the importance of this feeling. We shall have to leave large liberty to men to do as they please and to find their way about in the Church of God. Let no man smile with any trace of superiority over the way another man—his brother—seizes life for his soul. A dear friend of mine used to find comfort in repeating ritualistic phrases that meant nothing to me. I won-

dered at the strength they brought to him, until I remembered that they were on his father's lips in the instruction of a happy childhood home and that his mother repeated them as she died. If I am at hand when the new day of a united church comes, I hope that church will be of such a nature that I can be a Quaker in some moods, sitting silent to await the stirrings of the Spirit, and a ritualist in other moods, entering into a subtle communion with the souls of the past through the use of words dear to that past, and a crusader rejoicing in Christian conquest in other moods still, listening to stories of gains in great cities or in far away mission fields.

Will such a glad day of union ever come? Why not? If we will continue to work together, to talk together, to pray together, it will some day come as easily and naturally as the ripening of an orchard's fruit. It will be upon us before we know it. The fruit must indeed not be plucked too soon, but the greater danger is in plucking it not soon enough. It is not wise husbandry which allows apples to fall from the trees. Changing the figure of

speech, union of churches is like marriage. Premature marriage is perilous, but wise lovers do not expect to settle everything before the wedding. By the fact that the two are married some agreements are naturally and easily reached which might be cause for endless debate before marriage.

The critic is not yet through with us, however. He tells us that even after such a new day has dawned there are possibilities of quarrel and split in the church. He calls our attention to that warfare between radicals and conservatives which has always led to schisms in churches and which is especially grievous in some American religious groups to-day. Is not this difference fundamental and inherent? Can the church ever present a peaceful front with this deep-seated human belligerency still marking the lives of church members? Meeting this question with the frankness it deserves, I do not see how we are ever to have a united church except upon the basis of a recognition of the place of both radical and conservative. It has been said that the test of the worth of a socialistic state, assuming one to come, would

be its willingness to have socialism publicly criticized. Would the state-owned press, for example, of a socialistic state be willing to print a book criticizing the socialistic state? When there is one church, will that one church allow the preaching of beliefs offensive to the majority of the church? Will the conservatives call radicals traitors and will the radicals retaliate by calling the conservatives mossbacks? That is the unfortunate terminology which the outside world hears to-day as it turns toward the church.

All this must be kept on the human basis, and upon the platform of respect for every man who is seeking to live in the spirit of Christ. It is not to be assumed that any man who has taken on himself the vows of Christ will lightly violate those vows. By an odd chain of circumstances my life in the Methodist ministry has brought me into close touch with the three or four Methodists in my day who have been called heretics. The sobering reflection that comes to me when I am tempted to call anybody a heretic is that these three or four men are those whose

memory I most cherish for the sheer saintliness of their lives. It is a wise provision in some ecclesiastical bodies which provides that a minister charged with heresy can be tried only by a group of fellow ministers to whose circle he immediately belongs. We cannot judge heretics apart from their lives. A church that names the name of Christ does not have the privilege of a club or a party to cast out those whom she disapproves. The worst calamity which could befall a church would be to vote so as to make the Christ-life practically a heresy.

On the other hand, the conservative serves the kingdom of heaven by holding forth as long as he can a view that may be passing away. If we are to judge beliefs by their usefulness, a belief may be useful long after masses of men have ceased to believe in it. It may still minister to some. In any case it may be presented with such force that the essential truth in it is made to count. By opposing the old to the new the conservative slows down the rush of a new idea, gives the church time to make its adjustment,

compels the new forces to take the old force into itself, with a change of direction quite likely closer to the truth. If we can make place in the church to-day for radicals and conservatives to live together in good will though in wide intellectual disagreement, we shall have set before the world, puzzled as to how men can live together, an object lesson in living together of value for all social groups, industrial, national, and racial.

All this is so general that we can rightly be expected to come to closer grips with the question of radicalism and conservatism in the churches. Let us not dodge the issue, as so many to-day are doing, by falling back upon a policy of silence concerning creedal or doctrinal questions. We must agree that formal doctrinal matters are secondary—that the important consideration is the type of life that follows the use of a doctrine. This does not mean, I repeat, that doctrines are not worth talking about. Their instrumental nature makes them all the more worth talking about. If they were absolute truths, final

for all time, we might say that they were to be discussed only for purposes of understanding and interpretation. There would be a limit to the discussion. It is not so with a doctrine which is spiritual food or raiment or tool. We seek to make the food more nutritious or palatable, the raiment warmer and better fitting, the tool sharper-edged by grinding it in discussion. The material progress of civilization measurably depends on finding better and better ways of cooking food and cutting garments and fashioning tools. So it is also in the shaping of instrumental statements of religious truths. These should be brought forth for fullest discussion for the sake of their greater serviceableness.

The advice is often given to young ministers not to bring creedal or critical controversies into the pulpit. I have myself often given this advice. I have never meant, however, that these matters should not be brought into the church. The preaching service should indeed be reserved, I think, for the application of religious truth to conduct—or to the inspiration of the life, or to the appeal for

the surrender of the will to the rule of God. There should, however, be definite place for the discussion of theological and social issues. The charge can be made with pertinence and force that young preachers just coming out of theological school to-day follow one of two courses: they either lug the instruments by which newer views are arrived at into the pulpit, where there is little chance to guard them against possible misunderstandings, or they keep silent about these newer methods of approach altogether. In the one case the preacher is apt, sooner or later, to put on spiritual airs because of what he conceives of as his persecution as a martyr; in the other case he may pride himself on the fact that he is far advanced in his thinking without the people finding it out. Both courses are equally mistaken. The pulpit is not the place for controversial doctrinal discussion; but there should be abundant opportunity for such discussion in classes where the leader gives the best that is in him, with opportunity for questions from the class. Through the neglect of such discussion many churches now find them-

selves in a deplorable plight, with a laity untaught by the church, part of the laity falling back on the outworn theology of their childhood, and part following after newspaper and magazine and storybook phrasings of alleged newer truth. As for the discussion of social themes, these are best handled where there is most ample room for questions from the floor. It sets the right example before a society broken up into classes to behold the spectacle of a church ready, through its spokesmen, to meet and attempt to answer any questions which the man inside or outside wants answered, provided there is no attempt on the part of the church to say in oracular fashion just what men must believe, or to lay claim to positive knowledge beyond reach. Fundamental respect for the questioner, fundamental respect for difference of opinion, fundamental loyalty to the highest and best for men—these are the essentials of a church which is to form a rallying point for the puzzled inquirers of our day. The church must make men see that she is utterly honest.

Now the questions begin to come upon

us thick and fast. What is ecclesiastical honesty? Well, honesty in public utterance is the aim to tell the people what one actually has in mind. If a man gives the impression that he is conservative—in the ordinary use of the term—when he is talking radicalism, we may well question his honesty. If he gives the impression of radicalism when he is inwardly conservative we may likewise raise questions as to his honesty. Telling the truth is not just uttering words for our own sake. It is, indeed, permissible for a writer of books to state truth in terms that best suit himself. The printed page is before the reader, who has time to ponder over the book, to read and to re-read. Not so with the preacher or teacher. He is speaking with the aim of begetting understanding in the mind of the hearer. There are limits to all such understanding, but it is the business of the leader of religious thinking to do all he can to make himself understood.

In this realm of religious discussion we cannot but be struck by the fact that debaters do not always join issues, that they are wrangling about different problems,

that terms do not mean the same idea to both sides, that apparently explicit statements often mislead.

To take a single instance. One debate before the church in our time has to do with the virgin birth. At first glance it looks as if the only way to answer the question: "Do you believe in the virgin birth?" is by a plain yes or no. More than that would seem to come of evil. There was or there was not a virgin birth. Jesus was born in that manner or he was not. So in plain honesty we have a right to call on the leader of the church to answer yes or no.

Not so fast, please. That might do in a court of law where the sole aim is to establish an objective fact, but there is a difference when we are in the realm of religious discussion. In that realm "virgin birth" means more than an objective fact. Through long years of doctrinal debate certain implications have become almost inseparable from the term. So that when the theologian is asked to answer yes or no he may hesitate, not because he is dishonest but because he is honest. He does

not wish to give a false impression by his yes or no. He sees that if he honestly says yes, he is thought by many good people to be taking a stand on a theory of the incarnation and to be committing himself to one particular mode of incarnation. If he honestly says no, he is thought by multitudes of surpassingly good people to be denying the divinity or deity of our Lord —which is farthest from his intention. Of course, he must not say yes when he means no; but he must not be suspected of inner disloyalty or insincerity when he hesitates, or, as a legislator would say, asks for "permission to explain his vote." Many of us have never had any particular difficulty in accepting the creedal statement, but we have accepted it because the statement seems to fit harmoniously into the uniqueness of a work like that of the incarnation. We may hold a conception of the relation of God to the universe which does not make it hard for us to accept miracle, if miracle seems worth while. Others, just as devoted as we are, think of miracle, not as impossible because impersonal laws rule everything, but improbable because the

laws are expression of divine wisdom and are not to be set aside.

I dwell upon this matter of honesty because I believe that the church as the agent of reconciliation among men must be entirely honest herself. There is no worthy reconciliation except on a basis of entire frankness. Yet I know that, after all is said and done, there are certain phases of religious truth that seem foolishness to the man outside. They are foolishness as a masterpiece of art is foolish to him who has no artistic sense; foolishness as regard for propriety is foolish to him who has no feeling of propriety; foolishness as moral revelation of the finer grades is foolish to him whose morality is of the coarser, more conventional variety.

What are now the essentials of the task before the churches in which all can unite on a basis which will bring them into the truest fellowship? May I say at the outset that the preaching of a positive Christianity is quite likely at least in the beginning to deepen the divisions between men. The effort toward the reconciliation of men moves often through such definite

and dynamic statement of the truth that it may force men to take opposing sides. We more and more agree that Christianity is Christ, that Christ is the final word about God and about men and about the universe. If that is true, how can we put the truth so as not to cause division? Christ is the final truth about men in all walks of life, in all employments, in all nations, in all races. The preaching of such a Christ is bound to make trouble.

What a miserable caricature of Christianity it is that interprets the life of the church in terms of a smiling, happy, social feast in which everybody is having a good time! This weary world needs good times sadly enough, but such peace is not quite the peace of the church. The church is here to pose hard questions to herself and to the world. Ought the human beings about whom Christ is the final word be treated as they are in some industrial, national, and racial situations? I shall say later that quite possibly the church can never herself solve the greater questions by expedients of her own devising, but if she just keeps raising the question inces-

santly, "Does this, or that, harmonize with the Christ-ideal for men?" she will perform an immense social service. It may well be that some forms of persecution will follow such persistent questioning, but persecution has always meant cement for a united church. If the churches together will bear witness to Christ, first by raising the questions I have suggested, I repeat, the world will soon forget the divisions of the church in the face of such unity. What was the value of the Greeks to philosophy, taking the whole course of the world's thinking together? In that the Greeks formed great philosophical systems? That the Greeks framed such systems we all gratefully acknowledge. The main service of the Greeks, however, was in the fact that they put certain questions which men have been debating about and dividing about ever since. So likewise the glory of the church is that she puts some questions insistently age after age. She should be the sharp, divisive questioner of every age.

A sign of the increasing unity of the church is to be found in her insisting that her questions be answered now. That is

to say, all the churches are alike coming to see that this present earth is the place where the searching questions about the realization of the Christ-ideal are to be answered. God be thanked for the hope of immortality, but that hope is not merely a solace as we think of redressing in another life the wrongs given and received here. Immortality implies such readjustment, we all know, but immortality, after all, is held fast to as a sphere for the unfolding of the Christ-possibilities in men. That unfolding should start here. Only those can be trusted in a redeemed society in another life who are willing to try to redeem society here.

The Christian ideal of a redeemed society in the future life has always contained elements which nobody could preach as applicable on earth without being in danger of being looked upon as a disturber of the public order. I am not a socialist, but I would not care to hear any preacher tell me that there is to be any considerable private ownership of material things in the immortal life. In fact, I do not remember ever to have heard any such doctrine. We

all concede that in a world of redeemed humanity in the skies there would not be any place for armies or for compulsion by force. Well, even admitting that the heavenly condition is a long way off from any earthly fulfillment—the churches are more and more agreeing that the sooner we get started to introduce the kingdom of God here the more chance there is of hoping for a worth-while kingdom of God yonder.

The reader will see that I am keeping this statement general. I am not advocating specific and detailed reforms. In a later chapter I shall say something of the limitations of the church in putting into effect specific reforms. I am merely trying to keep the attention fast on those things in which we can lose ourselves, and can thus find ourselves brought more and more closely together almost without our being aware of the nearer approach. We can raise the Christly question, we can call for an answer here and now. More than that: we can, without yielding any denominational essentials, insist upon the

contrasts between the Christ-method and the methods of this world, the Christ-method being the overcoming of evil with good by the sheer attractiveness of the good.

Contrast the first is that between the Christ-method and the world's reliance on force. Everybody concedes the imperfect nature of even the best human beings. We may admit that there are many men of such predominantly physical nature that all they seem to understand is a physical contact. We are not asking that mundane society disband the police force. Still, we do not hear so much as formerly about the potency of the discipline of force in the family. Nor do we believe that corporal punishment helps slow minds in the schools to quicken their pace. I remember a well-meaning teacher who once shook me, for some stupidity, so hard that for half a day every object before my eyes had a hazy, fuzzy edge. I have never felt that her method helped to sharpness of discernment, no matter how just the punishment so far as my deserts were concerned. Again, we have seen the emphasis in the

treatment of prisoners tend away from force. Without saying how far the movement against the control of human beings by force should go, is it not clear that churches can stand together for the teaching of Jesus as to the true method of controlling men? The conquest of war, we repeatedly insist, is the immediate task of present-day Christianity. War is a form of materialistic atheism—the common foe of all beliefs in God.

Secondly, the churches should stand together against the spiritually harmful compulsions which come out of the pressure of economic or financial powers. I am not now speaking directly of what the radical calls "wage-slavery," but of the extent to which fear of loss of financial support will affect the preaching and teaching of the church. Preaching and teaching mean training of preachers and teachers, and such training is expensive. The church must have money, but must never yield to the dictates of the givers of money. I gladly admit that the possibility of the control of teaching especially by the wishes of donors is often overstated. Mr.

Bertrand Russell recently averred that such colleges and universities in America as have received money from the Standard Oil Company can be looked upon as in the pay of that company, and that they can be depended upon never to say anything inimical to Standard-Oil interests. This statement partakes of Russell's characteristic fondness for the extreme. The University of Chicago, which has been a notable object of Rockefeller generosity, has from the beginning taught progressive social theories, some of which, if practically applied, would prevent the profits of great monopolies from going into private pockets. Few universities will accept gifts with outright provisions that limit freedom of speech.

Still, the peril is real and the churches must unitedly stand against it. If a man gives money to a church or school, he must keep hands off. It must be borne in mind that men of immense financial means may not be men of immense social understanding. In America we make the easy mistake of often thinking that a man who is an authority in industry is an authority on

social concerns. He may not be. He may honestly believe that the system on which he has been brought up and made rich is sacred, while it may be the reverse of sacred. Either Christianity must be left free to use its moneys without fear of the money givers or it must return to complete, almost poverty-stricken simplicity. Better have a whole truth uttered by a church whose preachers tramp the roadsides, than a half-truth uttered from a church under the domination of the forces of this world. The churches can succeed against the materialism of the money standard and money control only by a united uncompromising insistence upon a spiritual ideal.

Once more, the church has to stand against another massive force, upon occasion almost a brute force. That is the force of a public opinion which at times rides down everything which may happen to be in opposition to itself. For public opinion of the enlightened order the church has only approval. The formation of such opinion is the main reliance of the church in the redemption of society. Public

opinion unenlightened, selfish, headstrong in its fury, is one of the worst obstacles to the advance of righteousness.

Here, then, are three campaigns which call for the united effort of all the churches, none of them requiring any surrender by the churches of any denominational loyalty: the conflict with the forces of physical might, conflict with the forces arising from control of the material goods of this world, the conflict with a public opinion at times the expression of animal and mob instincts. These three constitute a veritable triune anti-Christ whose overthrow will require all the power of the church. Moreover, victory can finally come only at the cost of an effort at religious education which shall seize the growing minds of successive generations so firmly and thoroughly as to amount virtually to a making-over of human nature. In the presence of a task of such sheer magnitude and appalling difficulty any serious cherishing of traditional and divisive group peculiarities indicates an utter obliviousness to what the very name "Christian" means.

In earlier pages I have spoken of personal evangelism in terms that suggest lack of confidence in that evangelism. My lack of confidence applies to an individual evangelism too narrowly conceived. I want evangelism to begin with earliest childhood and spread to all parts of human nature. The individual always has to stand at the center of any social evangelism. If I may do so without presumption, may I say that the phase of the gospel which should to-day be most earnestly preached to individuals is emphasis on reconciliation and communion as the witness of the Spirit present in human society. Anything that can to-day—even in the narrowest relationship—set before the world a picture or a hint of reconciliation is socially most valuable. If thou bring thy gift to the altar and there remember that thy brother hath aught against thee, first go and be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift. This is of the essence of the gospel. Such a gospel does not mean that we are to love all men alike in the emotional sense, but it does mean that we are to bear toward all men a

spirit of good will and a willingness to merge ourselves in groups. Jesus felt that men could not get close to God if any obstacles kept them apart from one another. We are to forgive debts—the passage seems to have in mind debts given to help need—because the existence of the debt keeps men apart. The individual gospel, if it gets as far as the creation of a spirit of reconciliation among men of any circle, teaches the gospel lesson to an outside world in danger of falling to pieces through men's inability to live together. To secure the individual blessing of Divine Life—according to the teaching of Jesus—this immediate social duty of reconciliation with a brother must be discharged. Yet the task here, we repeat, calls for such focusing and economy of spiritual force as to leave no justifiable place for any group loyalties which would subtract an ounce of power from the main purpose.

To make clear to a world perishing for the lack of a spirit of reconciliation the importance of adjustments which bring men together the Protestant churches should forthwith proceed to some form of federa-

tion among themselves which will make them practically a unit. To say that the mind of the church is not equal to a step which will organize into expression the measure of unity which already exists is to admit that the mind of the church, or, rather, the collective intelligence of the Protestant churches, is not equal to a task already performed by the British Empire, by the Standard Oil Company, and by the Roman Catholic Church, each of which organizations permits as much diversity as the diverse Protestant sects now need and yet centralizes for the tasks which only centralization can accomplish.

It is the duty of the churches to remember that a church in these days is to be Christian. In a Methodist General Conference I once knew a good brother to insist upon asking a creed subscription of candidates for membership on the ground that any organization has a right to define the terms of admission to its own ranks. "Do not the clubs to which I belong," he asked, "lay down terms for admission?" Unfortunately for this argument the church is not a club. The instant we use the term

"church," with the suggestion of Christianity, at least, we are estopped from laying down any terms except those which we believe the Lord Jesus would accept and approve. That the Lord Jesus would aim at diversity of Christian experience and practice we all believe,—that he would approve of diversity's preventing substantial union here and now into one fold we can never believe. The substantial union would enrich any diversity worthy to be called Christian.

III

THE CHURCH AND LABOR

In considering what Labor has a right to expect of the church we must remember at the outset that the church is supposed to set before the world a human ideal so high that in practice she can never expect fully to overtake it. Whether or not an outsider accepts for himself the thought of the church concerning God, he has a right to insist that a church holding to the Christian idea that God is like Christ is by that very profession under the heaviest obligation to be loyal to the Christ idea of man.

There is an immeasurably heavier responsibility upon the church in its relation to men than upon any other human organization. Let us suppose an organization for the relief of men at some particular pinch of distress, a society for the relief of sufferers in famine-ridden or plague-stricken districts. Such a society may succeed altogether in preventing death by

starvation or in wiping out a plague. As far as we can say that anything human is done perfectly, we may say that the work of such an organization is done perfectly. The ideal is a limited ideal. When we are dealing with the church, however, we have to do not with a limited and specific object. We have to recognize the responsibility of the church to aid everything that means larger and finer human life, and such an ideal never can be fully realized. Even if we satisfy a given round of human needs, new needs forthwith emerge, and the goal seems as far off as ever. The impossibility of catching up with the ideal is a part of the glory of Christianity on the one hand, and a reason for constant urging and prodding of Christianity on the other.

We repeat that the profession of belief in a Christ-like God puts heavier obligations upon the church than upon a merely humanitarian organization which does not avow such belief. Let us think of a group of men whose religious views are agnostic. So far as they know, man is a creature of the moment. He lives a little while and goes. There is no reason to believe that

he is an object of especial concern to any power back of the universe, no reason to think that his life reaches beyond the grave. Since his life is so brief and so hard at best, let us work with all our might to make the days of men between the cradle and the grave as happy as possible. There is no use denying that many, many holders of such a creed as this labor unselfishly for men. They are filled with the Christ spirit even though they do not call themselves by the Christ name. All I am trying to say is that the holders of such creeds are not by their creeds under such obligation to serve their fellow men as are the holders of the belief in the Christ-like God. If the Christian is to take his belief in God seriously, he must be utterly unremitting in the service of his fellow men. There can be no discharge in the war in their behalf, no letting down in the effort to help men.

The situation for the church is made further difficult by the fact that though her head rises among the loftiest human ideals, her feet are firmly caught in the earth. Professing the noblest ideals for

men, she has to adjust herself to an industrial and social situation which at the best largely contradicts those ideals. Her people have to make their living. They earn, invest, and spend money. If the money is legally earned, invested, and spent there is no question as to the possibility of a church member's holding his place in the church fellowship. Are legal ways of using money, however, necessarily Christian? Here we come upon the contradiction between ideal and practice. It is manifest that the church cannot lower the ideal. If she does, she ceases to be a Christian Church, though she might conceivably become a worthy and useful social organization of more limited aim. Now, let it be remembered that no matter how far the church falls short of her ideal for human contacts, the ideal is nevertheless there. No matter how far the church is the outcome and expression of a capitalistic bourgeois era, for example, she never loses sight of the ideal altogether. Furthermore, at certain periods of the Middle Ages the church herself was one of the largest, perhaps the largest, property holder in European society. From the moment

the church became the official Church of Rome, compromises with the spirit of this world became inevitable. Neither political nor financial compromises, however, prevented the human ideal of Christianity from making its course with increasing effectiveness out into human society. There was far more actual human brotherhood than we realize. Moreover, the church always allows to a marvelous degree criticism of herself by her own members. I think we have here a social phenomenon of no small proportion. I do not know any other social institution which allows such open, public proclamation of its own faults by its own members as does the church. Other organizations, indeed, talk over their faults among themselves, but the church probably leads all social groups in tolerating public criticism of herself by her own people. Underneath this there is in the mind of the churchmen who think at all the realization that the ideal is far, far ahead, and that any criticism which stings the church to more rapid progress is worth while.

I think I have put the case for the

church with substantial fairness. She is the holder of an ideal of human relationships which will gleam far ahead of society hundreds and hundreds of years from now, when schemes that to-day seem Utopian will be cast out as reactionary and obsolete. She cannot live up to her own ideal. Since she cannot surrender the ideal without surrendering her own life, there is but one course open to her—to accept and profit by every stimulus from every quarter. Agitators within and without her membership are veritable means of grace.

The church is more and more listening to criticism of herself from industrial and social groups. The criticisms at the very points I have mentioned are sinking in, the responsibility of the church to hold to the belief in a Christ-like God, and the actual entanglement of the church in the affairs of the world. It will be a sad day for the church when the leaders of the labor groups cease to rub these sensitive spots. These are the sore places, and criticism should never cease. I repeat that even the man who is atheist or agnostic has a right to call upon the church for in-

creasing loyalty to her own ideal. In the name of Christ a man who does not take upon himself the name of Christian has a right to call out as to the contradiction between the ideals and practices of the church. The contradiction is there. It will always be there. The only condition on which it can be there safely is by open recognition leading to constant and deepening repentance and consecration on the part of the church itself. Especially should the entanglement of the church in the processes by which its members make money always be kept out in the full light. All this makes for humility out of which spiritual progress comes. A boastful church makes no progress. A complacent church is already dead.

So, then, let leaders of industrial groups who feel that the church is not fair to the working masses take their part in holding before the church the ideal of the church itself.

Can a church that preaches the Christ ideal both for man and God sit quietly by while great basic industries demand a twelve-hour day for heavy manual labor?

Can such a church sanction the efforts to deprive men of all right to have some voice in the conditions governing their own employment, a voice expressed in union with their fellows and through representatives of their own choosing?

I keep harking back to this fundamental emphasis on the ideal because that is the point of labor's effective contact with the church. Labor will deprive itself of most important aid from the church if it begins to ask that the church be a definitely limited social propaganda agency or institution for the direct relief of laborers in any sort of distress. All such work the church should no doubt aid, but always in the name of the fundamental ideal of the church. If labor can help hold the church to the proclamation of the Christ ideal, it will render signal service. Suppose the most of the attendants of the ordinary church are bourgeois in their point of view. Are there not preachers of the gospel to-day who are doing more than any other agencies to introduce to the bourgeois layman those wider ideas of human equality

on which we must advance toward industrial democracy? The church is always colored by the economic life of the time, but the church always has at least some preachers who point out the fact and peril of that coloring.

One handicap on the part of the church to-day in dealing with industrial and social questions is the difficulty, for anyone outside the industrial groups, of getting hold of the facts as they are in the concrete. We are all—church circles, labor circles, capitalistic circles—caught in manias for propaganda. We do not ask as to what the facts are, but as to what the facts can be made to show for our side. Now, a church which professes to serve Christ cannot be Christian and be indifferent to the point of view of men by the million who are by labor earning their daily bread. The church needs to know how the laboring groups state their own thoughts and feelings, but she needs above all to know the facts about the way men live, and about their chances to get anything like adequate conditions of existence.

Will the critic of the ignorance of the

church as to social matters please consider for just a moment the plight of the churchman who tries to get at social facts? Our first thought is likely to be that all one has to do to get facts as to labor is to read the newspapers. In reality, the newspapers are nearly useless in such matters. They can publish the list of casualties in a labor conflict, but they cannot tell the point of view of the laborer. It requires far more training to do this than the ordinary reporter has. Such a reporter can no more report a labor meeting adequately than he can report a religious assembly or a scientific convention. We turn then to the scientific expert. The expert can, indeed, help us to a certain type of objective fact, but he is so obsessed with a craze for scientific balance and impartiality—paradoxical as the expression sounds—that he often fails to see straight in an atmosphere charged with human feeling; that too in a situation where human feeling is the most determining factor. I once had a scientific expert protest against some statements I had made about the misuse of State constabulary in mill-cities

during strikes, telling me how safe it was for defenseless farmers to live on roads patrolled by State police. All I was asking was that the police limit themselves to their proper duties of keeping the country roads safe. Some scientifically minded social students are so fearful of positive unqualified statements that their deliverances are utterly unscientific.

The only way for the outsider to get the facts is to urge members of industrial groups to speak up and insist upon being heard, speaking in the name of fact. No matter how much bias the members of the industrial group may have, they can tell their own story as no one else can tell it for them. If there could be in labor utterances less denunciation and more plain statement, we should all get along much faster. It is the business of the church to get the facts, but they cannot be got without the help of the labor groups themselves.

I don't see how the aid of labor to the church can stop short of labor's coming to the inside of the church. It is almost impossible to write like this without seeming to show a desire to win converts to the

church as an organization. I am not urging labor groups to come forward to the altar rails of churches now filled by a non-labor class and join such churches. Suppose, though, we look at it all from another angle. Suppose the labor leader to be actuated by a genuinely Christian ideal. Suppose his life is given to unselfish service. Why should he not be able, with the possibilities of framing statements of belief open to congregations to-day, to establish religious centers among laborers, led, if need be, by the laborers themselves? The church to-day is so anxious for unity that once such centers were established, the congregations elsewhere would have to heed their statements of religious ideals. The laborers claim to be followers of Christ —even though they are outside of the church. If they are followers of Christ, why can they not organize that fact into a Christian organization? Let the organization stand at first outside of all relationship to other ecclesiastical organizations, until mutual fear and suspicion can be overcome. Let the labor groups adopt any rules they please to guard their organiza-

tions from any sort of "upper-" or "middle-class" control. If this could be done the whole temper of organized religion toward the working classes would soon change. Considering the unwillingness of labor groups to come into the church, it is remarkable that labor sentiment is as well represented in the church as it is.

Of course, the working class would have to give up some things sooner or later if such labor churches were established. The materialistic interpretation of history, for one thing, would have to go by the board. By the way, one of the oddest phenomena in the history of thought has been the extent to which that materialistic interpretation has been debated with spiritual fervor. Men have showed by their spiritual devotion to a materialistic idea that they have not been materialistically minded. Men have unselfishly fought for a theory on the face of it selfish. Just as the churchman has at times fought with carnal selfishness for a spiritual ideal, so the social leader has at times fought with rare spiritual consecration for a materialistic ideal. So with class conflict, as often held. The doctrine

of class conflict can be stated in Christian terms as condemnation of any class of idlers, but as stated in the orthodox Marxian terms it is not Christian. This doctrine, as socialistically stated, would sooner or later have to go, but not by the say-so of anyone outside. Let a labor church start at first with a laborer's Christ. We could trust both labor and the Christ soon to advance to a Christ of all men.

If laboring groups will not come into churches now in existence or form churches after patterns of their own, all we can do is to keep on talking about ways of bringing churches and industrial groups to better mutual understanding.

It might help on toward such understanding if the church were encouraged to state the human ideal, of which we have spoken so much, in more and more concrete terms. There is one common mistake under which many a preacher takes shelter when he is asked his opinion about a definite and specific human situation in industry—the mistake that the gospel proclaims general and abstract principles

which will in the end work their own way out into expression in society, and that the duty of the preacher stops with the abstract utterance. If I read the Scriptures aright, they do indeed announce principles, but they do not state them abstractly. The beginning of the movement of Israel toward emphasis on the worth of human life was not in abstract terms, but in specific insights. The prophets announced fundamental social principles indeed, but they phrased them in denunciations of those who laid house to house and land to land till there was no place left for the poor. They talked of bowls of strong drink and of ivory couches, of women who affected mincing steps and who did their hair up on round tires like the moon. One prophet even referred to such women as the kine of Bashan. Language like this is not abstract. Nor was Jesus abstract in treating evils of his day. He did not indeed attack capitalism as such, but capitalism in its present form did not exist then. He attacked the vested interests, for example, that had to do with the control of the Temple, and managed to get a

good many concrete things said in the attack. I have often thought how easy it would have been for Jesus to say all that he said against the high priests and Scribes and Pharisees without offending them. If the words of Jesus in a famous passage in Matthew had been turned over for editing to some lover of the abstract, everything which Jesus said could have been preserved in an abstract utterance which would have hurt nobody. Put the references to whited sepulchres, binding men's shoulders with burdens grievous to be borne, devouring widows' houses, in abstract terms and they can be quite pleasantly stated. The principles of Jesus, however, have to be seized in the concrete statement which he gave them in his time and to be restated in concrete terms fitting our own day.

Labor is right and just in expecting that the church state to-day in living terms the ideals of Jesus with such effectiveness as to make social injustice impossible. Labor cannot expect the church herself to tell in detail just how the ideals of Jesus are to be wrought out in rule or code or custom. That is a duty of technicians. When the

demand gets strong enough in modern life for the removal of social abuses, the abuses will go. When the general public sentiment gets strong enough to demand the grant of further powers to laboring groups, the powers will be granted. There is nothing inherently impossible about putting heavy labor in continuous processes in basic industries on an eight-hour shift, nothing impossible in granting groups of laborers the right to organize for larger control of the conditions under which they do their work, nothing impossible in at least listening to anything that labor has to say. The employing classes boast of their large control over managing ability. The managing ability will one day show itself socially worthy of the admittedly high remuneration which it receives by working out plans which will make possible the realization of some of the above changes. Public opinion will be the determining factor. When public opinion says so, capitalistic leaders will order into effect all the important grants which labor asks for. In the steady generation of a fundamentally humane public spirit and temper and de-

mand, the church can perform an indispensable part. Sooner or later she will, by the insistence upon the rights due every man, make her contribution to the necessary climatic changes in social realms looking toward better life even for the lowliest manual labor.

In what I have been saying I have had in mind the church as a whole. May I say also that in many individual churches pastors and people are working definitely at specific tasks to learn about laboring groups in a spirit of sincere helpfulness. I do not find among churches any tendency to patronize labor. In some quarters good men hold back from seeking too close an approach to labor for fear of giving offense to those who pride themselves on their own spiritual and moral resources. Moreover, even though some churches are lamentably weak in their hold on organized labor they are, for the most part, composed of honest, hardworking people, filled with the spirit of good will. As for the churches being directly controlled by money powers, in ten years of experience on the Methodist Board of Bishops I have never heard

church policies discussed from the point of view of their effect on rich givers. I do not deny, however, or seek to minimize the fact that commercial standards and a commercial atmosphere send their sickening fumes into the religious fields. Church leaders do not consciously yield to Mammon. Mammon nevertheless plays too large a part in producing the social air which we all breathe—and the church inevitably suffers.

So far I have been addressing myself chiefly to the side of labor. May I turn now to a more direct statement to churchmen. A good many nervous churchmen are in panic these days over the appearance of radicalism as to industrial questions in labor circles, and over the support which this radicalism is receiving from some quarters inside the church. What is this industrial radicalism inside the church?

Part of it is not radicalism at all except as insistence upon free discussion. A wise conservatism always insists on getting the radical to talking, for when the radical

talks we at least know what he is talking about. We do not know what he is talking about when he talks down cellar or in a back alley. Some alleged church radicalism is nothing more or less than an attempt to get industrial discussion out into the open, where we can all hear it.

Just after Bolshevism came to power in Russia I was asked to preach in Boston to a group of professed Bolshevists, whom a religious worker had induced to come to church on the agreement that after I had spoken for half an hour they could talk back to me for an hour and a half. The Bolshevists looked outwardly fierce enough and used some fierce figures of rhetoric. What they wanted to talk about, however, the day I was with them, was the general worthlessness and uselessness of bishops. It was remarkable to note how closely, both in substance of doctrine and in expression, they ran parallel to many a speech I had heard in Methodist preachers' meetings.

I have just said that the wise conservative always insists upon discussion. I mean that he sees how much better it is to

have such open discussion than to have explosions of dynamite. I must admit, however, that the radical often does his utmost to provoke the social conservative to speech, for the conservative does not always talk wisely. Sidney and Beatrice Webb have recently called attention to the resentment which the stand-pat capitalist feels when the revolutionist laughs at his attempt to throw the cloak of superior morality over capitalism, over its justification of remuneration for owning rather than for service, especially. The capitalist gets purple with rage when the revolutionist wants to know why anyone should pay the capitalist for owning. Why doesn't the capitalist speak up and answer? The stock reply about being entitled to pay for saving is good as far as it goes, but how far does it go toward justification of pay for costless saving? Is the socially minded young preacher to be rebuked just for asking this question, especially when we remember that the capitalist is given to falling back upon high moral ground in defense of the existing industrial system? Religious sanctions are indeed of the high-

est worth. All the more reason, then, for being patient with the radical Christian who wants to know what the sanctions are, when a particular feature of present industry is under scrutiny. The instant we speak of sacredness the Christian has a right to ask questions.

The truth is that the church is always baptizing and receiving into its fellowship social institutions before she is sure that those institutions have soundly been converted.

Dr. Percy Gardner has rendered invaluable service in interpreting church history as a succession of such institutional baptisms into Christ—or at least into the name of Christ. Greek thought and Greek religious ritual, Roman law and administration, Teutonic family customs all have been baptized into the name of Christ. The process still goes on. Now, when it comes to baptizing an industrial order into the name of Christ we are fortunate indeed if we have some ruthless questioner at hand, young enough not to have any more sense than to put searching inquiries to the candidate. It would never do to

baptize individuals without at least somebody to answer for them. Why should not the institutional candidate submit to catechizing? Such questioning is an ungracious task at best—but it has to be done. The Christianization of the industrial life may otherwise lead to the industrialization of the Christian life, which is not desirable. Roman imperialism took a deadly revenge upon Christianity for bringing it into nominal submission to the name of Christ when Rome finally ended in the imperialization of Christianity. So a questionable industrial order might wreak an ironical revenge upon a Christianity coming to formal control over it, by the secularization of Christianity. It is the hardest conceivable spiritual feat for church officials to move in any atmosphere charged with the fumes of commercial success without being morally poisoned. The worst feature about poison gas is that you can't see it. The radical performs a fine service in reminding us of its presence.

Whether we are dealing with a codified system of law or with the body of customs and ideas of which that law is the expres-

sion, the more an industrial system claims finality the more morally dangerous it is. So we need men to tell us that the system is in need of being broken up even if we have no intention of breaking it up. The more nearly perfect any system—as a system—dealing with human life pronounces itself the more need of being severe with it. We need not expect the invectives of the labor radical to be overdiscriminating. Discrimination is not his task. The others will be discriminating enough. The psalmist said that he meditated in the law day and night. He would probably have resented Paul's charge that the law was a body of death. The social radicals in the ministry may be fools—but they are like the fools who used to remind rulers of the ever-present danger of death. The wise ruler is not like the king of the old story as he caught what the king's fool was shouting. "Stop that fool's mouth," ordered the king. "He's nothing but a fool," replied the courtiers. "No doubt," replied the king, "but if he keeps on talking like that he will upset my throne." Such fool's talk ought to be heeded. The redness of the

radical is socially useful if it is the red of a danger lantern.

Does not the Christian radical make the same mistake in trying to Christianize radical labor views as does the church in trying to Christianize existing capitalistic views? Very likely. Let it be remembered that we are not objecting to the Christian appropriation of capitalistic institutions as such, but objecting to appropriating them before we are sure they can be made Christian. The trouble with all social systems is that they need Christian birth into a new spirit. It no doubt seems Quixotic when a preacher tries to bring labor radicalism into line with the spirit of Jesus, but it is no more Quixotic than to attempt to get oil kings, and steel kings, and meat kings, and grain kings to rule primarily for the service of the governed. It is a strenuous task, any way you look at it, this task of institutional regeneration and sanctification.

If all this seems loose and dangerous, let us of the church remind ourselves that there are grave limitations in the path of the social prophet's quickly upsetting any-

thing. Amos and Isaiah and Micah preached social righteousness twenty-five hundred years ago, and their cherished dreams have not yet come true. The prophet's radicalism is like a melting snow in the Rocky Mountains. Sometimes it does indeed sweep everything before it in flood, but the rush does not last long. In the end it is canalized into a social irrigation system that does good after the radical is gone. Here again is a touch of irony; we all live on yesterday's radicalism. Our prophets to-day will be widely acclaimed by the next generation. Perhaps it is just as well. If to-day's prophets had it all their own way now, they might, with flood-like violence, tear up things by the roots. To-morrow their radicalism will be soaking into these same roots.

So the best tactics with the industrial radical in the church is to try to put into effect what of his teaching seems sound. Above all, it is necessary to remember that among the cranks and wild fellows who admittedly get into the ranks of the ministry there are some true prophets of the Most High—men who stand in the line of suc-

cession from the prophets of old. Let them speak forth. There are enough steady church journalists to set us right when they lead us astray; and enough bishops and superintendents and secretaries and trustees to see that their practical recommendations are tactfully—oh, so tactfully!—amended and corrected. Anybody who widely knows American life knows how little danger there is of any quick industrial or social overturn. Take Bolshevism as the extreme of radical proposals. When Lenin first grasped power in Russia he decreed that the cultivators of the soil must raise all the grain they could, take out just enough to carry themselves to the next harvest time, and send the rest without remuneration to the central headquarters for distribution among factory workers. That was simon-pure Bolshevism. Does anyone who knows the American farmer in the flesh think that system is likely to come here quickly? Not in Coshocton County, Ohio, where I was born. That particular item of Bolshevism did not last long even in Russia.

And now, having spoken to labor and to the church, may I claim the privilege of

uttering a few words of advice to my more radically minded younger brethren in the ministry—advice which I fear may smack so thoroughly of worldly counsel as to nullify all the high morality which I have thus far sought to encourage? I assume, however, that the young radical recognizes the fact that he is working in a church, that he is not living an isolated life, that as a member of a social group he must learn to get along with others as he expects others to get along with him, that membership in a group implies some vital though not always sharply defined obligations on the individual members.

To begin with, let me make use of the caution which a wise social leader—himself inclined to radicalism—used to give his followers, namely, not to act in such fashion as to lay oneself open to the charge of pose, or affectation. There is no great harm in eccentricity of dress or manner in itself. If the peculiarity is the spontaneous expression of an ebullient spirit slightly defiant of the conventions of dress, it adds a little touch of the picturesque to the daily experience of the onlooker. In any case a

radical would better defy the laws of dress than the marriage laws. The sad, sad fact is, however, that this childish world in which we live is so given to the belief that the inner things of the spirit are manifest from the things that do outwardly appear that public opinion is prone to conclude that because a radical wears an outlandish collar he, therefore, believes in free love or something as bad. Our manners are part of our speech in this social existence of ours. It is not quite fair to ourselves or to our cause to have our clothes and our gait and our gestures shouting forth lies about us.

A second homely word, especially to those whose radicalism takes the direction of invective, is the oft-quoted injunction to make sure of the facts before assailing the fortress of evil. There are facts enough to assail, if the crusader is patient enough to get hold of them, and cool enough in the course of invective not to let go of them. In seeking to reform the present industrial system into a Christian organism, there are facts enough in the admissions of the leaders of the system themselves—admis-

sions often all the more damaging from the fact that the leaders sometimes do not realize that they are talking paganism. For example, the modern industrialist's admission of his adherence to industrial autocracy is as open and naïve as was John Wesley's admission that his control of Methodism was despotic. "Of course it is despotic," said Wesley, "but I see no harm in despotism as long as I am the despot." If we go beyond such open admission in the search for facts, let us make sure of the facts. When Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst opened his famous campaign against Tammany he made particular charges which he felt to be true, but which he did not know to be true. When he was called upon by Tammany for proof he said he learned a lesson which would last him several ages into eternity. The upholders of questionable social and industrial methods and systems insist that he who announces as a fact something which he does not know to be a fact is as much a liar as he who deliberately lies, even if subsequent investigation proves that the liar told the truth. The ethical fervor of defenders of

any form of *status quo* is very exacting at this point. On the whole, it is just as well for the Christian radical to make the best putting possible of his opponent's side of the case—the completest, the fairest, the most charitable.

Once more, the radical should always remind himself that the demands of honesty are not met just by his uttering the truth to his own satisfaction. Let me repeat what I said in a previous chapter. If the preacher were merely a literary character writing for the delectation of a group of admirers who would take time to find out what he meant, or if he were a pedagogue setting a task of interpretation to learners, the case would be different; but the radical of whom I speak is a preacher striving after prophecy. The prophets were intelligible —at least to those of their own time. Truth is uttered to somebody. It is not the highest type of honesty to seem to be saying one thing when we have in mind a different thing—if it is possible by honest effort to avoid misunderstanding. Some misunderstanding in social utterance cannot be avoided. All the more reason then

to avoid what misunderstanding we can. The prophet may not care what people think of himself, but he ought to care what people think of his message, especially since the message in the end depends upon public opinion to put it into effect. There are some radicals whose countenances themselves are breaches of the peace. They are, of course, not responsible for the fact that riotous physical features add an unintentional ferocity to their words. Radicals are to be blamed, however, if their words express a riotousness which the prophet does not intend, if the radical can make himself clear. It is a sin not only against literary honesty but against social honesty as well when a prophet needlessly seems to be uttering violence of opinion which he does not feel. If the preacher has to put in six days explaining that he did not mean what he seemed to intend on the preceding Sunday, the question naturally arises as to why he did not take pains to make himself clear. Was it fair to give five hundred hearers an impression he did not intend? Still, we must not bear down too hard on the brother who allows the

people to think he is wilder than he is. His moral fault is not as bad as that of his fellow minister who lets the people think he is tamer than he is—the man who rages inwardly with a radicalism which he does not openly express—and gets to the end of a long ministry praised for being loyal to the old faith and for never lugging disturbing social questions into the religious field.

There are some grievous moral temptations which beset the true prophet. It is always spiritually dangerous for a man to suppose, or even to know, that he has seized a moral revelation not yet vouchsafed to his fellows. He may forget that other men may have moral revelations not yet vouchsafed to him. On the one hand, he is tempted to think more highly of himself than he ought and, on the other hand, less highly of his fellows than he ought. There is always the possibility of his becoming a scold or a cynic, or a sour and morose nuisance. Even so, he is a nobler spectacle, in the sight of angels if not of men, than his brother who has moved through this world of blasted ideals and

disappointed hopes and stunted lives and thwarted spiritual endeavor brought about by man's organized inhumanity to man, and never raged against it. There is a difference between prophets and chaplains. Chaplains are ministers who fit themselves as comfortably as may be to institutions, whether the institutions be armies, asylums, or social orders, and then minister to the comfort of the inmates of the institution as they can. An army chaplain is not likely to attack war. It is his business to bring to war as many of the comforts of home as possible. Upholders of established orders have this chaplain spirit. Probably any church organization must have a certain proportion of chaplains, but the chaplain must not be complacent overmuch. A disappointed, broken-spirited failure of a prophet is better than he, for the tragedy of the chaplain is greater than that of the prophet in that the chaplain has never met in the institution which he serves anything to be disappointed about.

Before turning to another theme I wish to speak a word of recognition of the ex-

ample labor has set before the church in social efficiency in action for an ideal. First of all, there is a sort of intellectual corrective in labor itself which is in part responsible for the intellectual soundness of at least the larger labor policies. Jesus said that he who would do the will of God would come to a knowledge of the truth, and that under all learning must be a doing of the word. It will not suffice to limit this teaching of Jesus barely to the doing of specifically religious tasks. There is implied here a recognition of the fact that sound learning bases itself, at least in part, on will activities. The tool which a man holds tends to fashion the development of his hand, and that, in turn, has its influence on his mind. The modern psychologist is on the right track when he insists that the hand is quite as important for the development of the mind as is the eye or the ear. Robertson of Brighton, toiling as he did among machine operatives, used to say that commerce, strictly speaking, apart from any considerable manual labor, is of low moral and intellectual significance as compared with working with tools. The

statement as thus put is one-sided, but has a kernel of truth. There is a solidifying, steadying factor in the labor which has to do with things, provided the work is not so heavy or monotonous, or the hours so long as to make the worker merely part of the machinery. For this fundamental psychological reason there is likely to be a soundness of intellectual judgment among manual workers which is of social significance. A church made up wholly of those not working with their hands would be a church given to vagaries and intellectual aberrations. Perhaps much of what we call the sanity of the early church came out of the fact that it was composed of ordinary people working for their daily bread.

I need not say that the Labor Movement, in spite of all its mistakes, presents the church with an object lesson of effective social cohesion. The reasons for this success are two—reliance on doctrine and on group loyalty. The Labor Movement is a standing contradiction to the claim that creeds and doctrines are no longer socially useful; that in these days it makes

no particular difference what a man believes. There is, to be sure, a choice in creeds, but a creedless social organization will not long hold together. President Lowell, in *Public Opinion in Peace and War*, suggestively declares that the mob action described in the book of Acts which had only the cry: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" for its intellectual furnishing, lasted about two hours—about as long as it could be expected to last with nothing but a cry. The Labor Movement is founded on a creed. The tighter the hold on that creed the tighter the organization sticks together and the solider its impact on the public mind.

It is a mere commonplace to anyone who knows labor groups that the devotion of the members of the groups to the groups is of high order. We would have to go back many centuries in church history to find exact parallels in large number to scores and hundreds of labor leaders to-day. The cheap sneer that the labor leader works at an easy job for handsome pay is given the lie by the willingness of the leader to put up with ridicule and invec-

tive and persecution and imprisonment for the sake of his cause. As for the mass of organized labor, we could wish nothing better for the church than that it might command from its followers the willingness to endure pain and hunger and possible death which laborers in masses time and again show in strikes, mistaken as the particular strike may be. Mistake or no mistake, the condition of labor to-day would be abject indeed if it had not been, and if it were not now, for the loyalty of laborers to their cause.

The church ought to seek to get hold of all this human power, not, indeed, for herself, but for the common cause which churches and labor groups should together seek to advance. There are many phases of church teaching and activity which lie outside of labor activity; there are many phases of labor organization activity which do not concern the church. The two groups can unite, however, in the broad aim of setting on high the loftiest human ideal and in seeking to control the materials of the earth in the interest of that ideal.

Public opinion is the ultimate power in social advance. It works now and then by applauding an occasional captain of industry who voluntarily assists labor to a better order, and by putting pressure on the other captains who do not work so voluntarily. It leads now to the repeal of an old law, now to the passage of a new one, now to the creation of that atmosphere in which the useless is left to atrophy and the useful is given its chance. It is the business of the church and of the Labor Movement to make the emphasis of public opinion both human and humane. The labor groups will then see men getting their chance and the church will see God getting his chance. This double, or at least two-sided and yet identical, point of view is the Christian view. Meanwhile, we call upon labor groups to remember that the church is working for them even though many church members do not know it, and might not approve if they did, and we call upon the church groups to remember that multitudes in the labor circles are working in the Christ spirit, even though they may not suspect the fact themselves.

None of the above is intended to slow down the vigor of labor in urging its own claims, so long as that vigor does not resort to violence. The cause of labor is not safe with either the capitalist class alone or with the church alone. The only method of showing either capitalism or the church the just claims of labor is by the insistence of labor itself. Labor states its own case, the church helps inform public opinion as to the trend of the human ideals of Christianity. Capitalism, through its technicians, makes the final adjustments which mark a step forward in the humanization and Christianization of the social order.

At this juncture some impatient reader breaks out against what he calls a barren and mean result—capital still in existence and labor always doomed to fight capital. Let such reader remember that I am calling for orderly and regular steps of social betterment through a Christian public opinion, and that I am not marking any final stopping place for that betterment. Capital as tools we must always have. Capital as organized ownership must sub-

mit to whatever the Christian social conscience decrees. The capitalistic spirit of profit for private gain will have to yield to the motive of service in all realms. Let us believe that the transformation of motive, with whatever change of social organization it may involve, will come about through new births of Christian spirit. The capitalistic spirit will still be greedy even if it takes the garments of socialism. Socialism, democracy, labor, all can be materialistic in spirit. It is against materialism that our real battle lies, only we must never forget that materialism comes often out of such poverty that the material needs bulk too large in the daily thinking; and the Christian thought must always move directly against a soul-destroying poverty. Hence the paradox that the church must call for larger material productivity, and for a larger share of material goods for labor, for the sake of larger spiritual life.

IV

CAN PATRIOTISM BE SAVED?

One of the most pronounced after-effects of the Great War has been the questioning attitude which increasing numbers of thoughtful persons find themselves taking toward patriotism. The war naturally led to an exaggeration of the patriotic feeling. That was to be expected, but it was to be expected also that with the return of peace the patriotic fervor would sink back to normal. The return has been slow. Some distortions and aberrations of national sentiment linger along, or, rather, show such vitality as to raise, seriously, the question as to what place patriotism can have in a Christian scheme of things. Must we subscribe to the doctrine of "My country right or wrong"? Is the vote of a majority binding, not merely as practically settling a question for the time being, but as uttering a final moral judgment? Are there no limits to

the limits which the nation is to set upon the utterance of independent opinion? Must we always have war? How far can a majority vote make right a scheme for the wholesale killing of men? In the face of the fact that large numbers of men are willing to make patriotism of the aggressive, pugnacious, bellicose type almost a religion, other men are beginning to say that patriotism is one of the foes of human progress and of the kingdom of God, that it is essentially the spirit of the Antichrist. Must we take either of these attitudes? Must we yield blindly to patriotism or discard it altogether and call patriotism the resource and resort of knaves and fools?

I do not think it necessary to take either of such possible choices. Christianity never moves forth to the destruction of anything, except as a last resort. In the Master's parable, the man with the ax who would forthwith cut down the tree was not, after all, so radical or thoroughgoing as the man who would first dig about the tree and fertilize it. Christianity seeks to save everything which has in it any promise of good whatsoever; but Christianity

saves on its own terms—terms of rebirth, of conversion into new life. Not merely in their more individualistic duties but in their wider social activities must men be brought under the spirit of Jesus. One thing is sure—if patriotism is not sooner or later to wreck the world, it will have to be purified by the spirit of Christ.

One apologist for a vigorous patriotism declares that patriotism is an innate instinct; that it is as natural as breathing; that man is inherently pugnacious; that there is an "urge" about the patriotic feeling that links it close to the forces we think of as divine.

It is clear upon a little reflection that there is some confusion here. No one is denying the innateness of patriotic feeling. No one is denying the sacredness of a true man's devotion to the land which gave him birth, or to the institutions which fostered his growing life, or to the people that made his own individual life worth living. Surely, Christianity is not to stamp out a feeling like this. No, Christianity is not set upon stamping out anything, but

upon controlling everything in the name and spirit of the Lord Jesus. Let us remind ourselves that the scientific temper of to-day is questioning and cross-questioning all our instincts and "urges" to see whence they come and whither they are going and whether the direction can be changed to advantage. An urge is no longer self-evidently divine just because it is an urge. Some urges come out of a physical base, like hunger or sex; some out of selfishness, some out of pugnacity or the craving for acquisition. No urge is summarily to be cast out, but all are to be controlled. Is it not possible as Christians to control the patriotic impulse? Think of what we are doing with the basic instincts of hunger and sex. For centuries these two forms of innate human activity have been under a measure of control. The establishment of a regular routine of three meals a day was a step toward the control of irregular and savage eating. The foundation of the family was the longest step ever taken in the rationalization and moralization of a physical impulse. I am not thinking, however, of the past but of

the present, of the way scientific rules for the guidance of the hunger impulse toward the best health are followed so largely that some keepers of dining halls print figures of calories opposite the food items in the bill of fare and that treatises on dietetics sell by the thousands. I am thinking also of the extent to which the period of adolescence is studied with the aim of the control of an appetite which, unregulated, means positive disaster to human society.

The glamour of war, in its actual processes, does not play much part just now. We know too well what the actual features of war are. Poison gas, vermin, and mud are elements quite hard to mix with glory. There do cling around the patriotic idea, however, the feelings having to do with adventure and pugnacity and competition. It is such feelings as these that William James seemed to have in mind when he sought to establish a moral equivalent for war. All of these can be controlled in the name of Christ. The conquest of physical nature itself calls for a type of courage if anything higher than that of the battle-

field. Some pessimists are avowing that it would be a good thing for the welfare of the race if all our modern physical and chemical knowledge—especially that which has to do with the unlocking of destructive forces—could be forgotten overnight. There is ground for the fear that we have learned the use of high explosives before mastering the high moral purpose which would use the explosives aright. It is an utter perversion to take powers like dynamite and turn them, not against rocks which block the paths of our fellow men, but against men themselves. The searching down and tracking out of the disease forces of nature calls for keener power than that of military strategy. Moreover, the increasing seriousness with which these exalted human aims are undertaken can furnish that Spartan discipline which, the strenuous tell us, is necessary for the moral virility of the successive generations of men.

Some who will concede all this tell us that we can never thus productively control the basic patriotic feelings as long as public opinion insists upon rewarding mili-

tary heroes with its chief honors. This objection can hardly be taken seriously. Through long stretches of time, many a nation has honored leaders who have never known war. Giving the objection its full weight, does it mean that public opinion never can be converted to Christian standards? Does it mean that men as individuals can be brought to follow Christ, but as soon as they get together to discuss national matters they are necessarily to be swept into unchristian tempers; that where two or three Christians meet together, there necessarily and inevitably is the devil in the midst of them? It used to be quite commonly held that the temptations of the devil come to men one at a time; that, when two or three good men get together, there Christ is apt to be in the midst of them. Nowadays it seems that Christ is often conceded to be the Lord of the separate and isolated activities of men, but that he cannot rule the spirit which takes hold on men as they come together. The distance between this conception and that of the New Testament needs no comment.

We have not touched bottom yet. An insistent student of war deplores war as such, but will have it that wars come out of economic factors—that there are only so many stores of raw material on earth and that these are objects of competition among nations. Nations will fight for these goods. It will not do to call men basely materialistic for thus fighting, for the conflict is for the necessities of national life. The fight is for self-preservation.

We are willing to admit that it is not fair to call nations grossly materialistic for struggling after material goods. The nation desires coal and oil to move locomotives and ships, to turn factory wheels, to make garments, to build houses, to prepare food. These are necessities of life. The battle for these riches is one form of the battle for existence.

Let us grant all this. Suppose there are not enough raw materials to give all the peoples all they can use. Suppose we plunge ahead and have a war over the division of the raw materials—and the sources of the raw materials pass out of the hands of one national group to an-

other national group. The defeated and robbed nation does not cease to exist. It lives along somehow, cherishing the deepest hatred toward the conqueror. How much has the conqueror won? Groups of financial leaders may have marvelously profited, but how much has the nation won when we take into account the loss of life, the crippled youths, the destroyed capital, the devastated lands, the pension lists, the public indebtedness? Just as a proposition in plain good sense, would not everybody have been better off if there had been a rational agreement about the division of the raw materials? Suppose by the agreement that neither side gets what it thinks it ought to have. Would not a deliberate curtailment of national economic activity be better than the forced curtailment which comes from killing men and ruining railroads and factories and fields?

Another student tells us that the birth-rate of the human race is the chief cause of war—that some peoples increase faster than other peoples and that this increase brings them into conflict; that modern science is finding ways of carrying human

life through infancy to maturity so that the nations are becoming overcrowded, that a high natural birth-rate must be met by a high unnatural death-rate. This utterance indeed has merit, but where, after all, is the crowding taking place? Germany is supposed to have increased fast in the last half century, but it does not seem to have been an actual pressure of Germany's population that brought on the war. Japan is increasing fast, but Japan is not sending forth such tremendous streams of emigrants. The Japanese want to live in lands and climates like Japan. They want raw materials which they can manufacture into finished products at home.

This argument at last comes down to about the same base as the other—the pressure for increasing supplies of material for the increasing population. Is it better to divide than to fight? Even granting that the people of a land are increasing faster than the land can take care of them, is the increase the outcome of an irresistible force? Malthus himself, who first formulated the doctrine of population to the effect that, if the race were not hin-

dered by plague and catastrophe from constant increase, the population would soon outrun the means of sustenance, declared that the problem of equilibrium between the numbers of population and the material resources could be solved by increase of the standard of living and by moral restraint. This population appeal for war simply means that we are presumably not dealing with a race of rational beings at all. It is true that we of the United States have not yet felt the pressure of our population; but suppose we were feeling it now. For a time we were paying ninety-two cents of every dollar of taxes for wars—past or to come. Suppose we could put aside all thought of war and take that ninety-two cents per dollar to develop, intensively, the agricultural and industrial resources of the country. How long would it take us to put ourselves on a basis where we could take care of all our possible population without asking land of any nation to which our emigrants might move? A good many of the natural resources are of a sort that will soon be gone, we are dolefully told. If it is true that the oil of the earth will

be burned up in fifty years, all the more reason why we should not have a war over oil. What sane human being wants to fight for material that will not last fifty years? Better turn our wits toward the search for some more durable forms of force.

Still another explainer of war tells us that we are so made that we resent insults to the flag, that we have a delicate sense of national honor, that we simply will not stand by and see, not ourselves, but the national group to which we belong insulted. There is no doubt as to the prevalence of national "touchiness"; but here, again, the question is as to whether we are ever to be socially sane. If a man becomes really a man, there are some actions which cannot insult him. What scholar cares what the ignoramus says about him? What gentleman is disturbed by the gibes or grimaces of a buffoon? What Christian looks with anything but pity upon evil-spirited thrusts at himself? If such attack leads to possibility of actual harm, we are dealing with another prob-

lem; but we are now talking of that realm of slight to national honor which has figured so much in begetting war, or at least in fanning the war spirit. We are facing again the plain question as to whether men in groups can attain to the excellence of men as individuals. If an individual were to try to move in good society and keep stress always on the rights and etiquette due him, as nations do in their attitude toward one another, he would be laughed out of society.

We don't seem, though, to be getting far toward a Christian solution. Suppose we just take seriously the idea of the gospel as to the worth of human lives, not American, or English, or French lives merely, but human lives everywhere. Let us try not to be literalists in our gospel interpretation, but let us aim to keep to the spirit of the gospel as a whole. Let us hold before ourselves the plain meaning of the Word—that men are of such importance that though they are sinners and blunderers, Christ died for them, and died for them, not just as a prophet suffering on his own account, but died for them to

show how the Christlike God feels toward them. Then the question is as to whether we can reconcile killing men with any implication of Christ's thought about men. It may be fairly argued in the case of an individual person here and there that he has become so brutalized by his own brutalities that brute force is all he understands. He must be restrained, locked up, kept off the streets where normal human beings move. Who, in heaven's name, could bring such an indictment as that against a whole nation?

The conscientious objector, to whom I shall give much space later in this chapter, is annoying to me because of his literalism. If we are to take part of the words of Jesus literally, we have to take them all literally; and then we get into trouble. When the conscientious objector says he would not defend his own children against outraging assailants, we know he is raving. There is no need of raving, for the logic of his position does not call for such extremes. If he will forget his literalism and lay hold of the spiritual essential of the gospel, he can stand against war on the

ground of the utter impossibility of reconciling it with any such thought of human beings and human life as that which filled the mind and moved the heart of Jesus. There is no way of sanctifying war. There is no possibility of uniforming Christ in khaki. We can say truly that there are times when the Christian falls short of the Christ ideal as to war, or is borne down short of that ideal by public sentiment; but we cannot say that he is following a khaki-clad Christ. Better admit inability to live up to the ideal than to lower the ideal. It is not only that war kills the bodies of men —it poisons and kills the mind by perversions from the truth. The objector is right, not when he calls for literal obedience to a literally minded Christ, but when he speaks in the spirit of Christ for the sanctity of human lives everywhere. Men for whom Christ died must not be killed by poison gas or bayonet thrust; they must not be lied to; they must not be plunged into hate. I was just as anxious as anyone to see the cause of the Allies prevail in the last war. I now cast no stones at anyone. Still, I say that

since we had to fall short of the Christian ideal and go to war, we may just as well face the spiritual consequences of that war —an emphasis on propaganda so strong that it may be years before we get back the power to see straight; a distortion of the faculties of spiritual balance so severe that it may take us a long, long time to judge national issues aright; a blurring over our finer discernments so complete that only the ruder shocks disturb our minds.

The path of the salvation of patriotism lies not past the victories of militarism. Salvation for a nation is essentially the same as salvation for an individual. It comes out of repentance for sin; out of a desire for new birth, for new life following the commandments of God and walking from henceforth in his holy ways. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" is the second great commandment. Evidently, a man's love for his neighbor cannot be important if he has no respect for himself. Genuine self-regard among neighbors and nations ought to go hand in hand with regard for others.

This implies, does it not, that there must be some world organization in which nations live peacefully together? It certainly does—but it implies, before organization, the change of heart among nations which must amount to veritable regeneration. It means Christian love, not, indeed, in a chiefly emotional or affectional sense, but in a willingness on the part of one nation to look at and appreciate other nations, appreciate them at their points of strength, rejoice in their ability to make each its own unique contribution to the life of the whole. It implies on the part of every nation a willingness to hold its own geographical and industrial and cultural excellence under a sense of trusteeship for all men—thinking of men always in human terms.

The noblest tract on patriotism, especially international patriotism, that I know is the book of Jonah. Jonah was a Jew filled with a consciousness of the superiority of his people. As a member of the chosen race he had such sense of his own consequence that he dared talk back to God. He would not go and preach to

Nineveh, the capital of his deadliest enemies. To escape going to Nineveh he would sail away off to Tarshish, in the west somewhere; for, according to Jonah's patriotism, the eyes of the Lord were so focused on Israel that they would not see Jonah in Tarshish. A storm arises on the sea and the accusing lot falls on Jonah. He is a good deal of a man, admits his guilt, and asks that he be thrown overboard. Notice that he makes no change in his thought about Nineveh. He might have caused the Lord to stop the storm if he had promised to go to Nineveh; but he preferred drowning to going to Nineveh. Next the heathen sailors appear in fine light, even as compared with one of the chosen race, for they row hard to get to land to save Jonah, who has already cost them all their cargo and much of their ship's gear. It was of no avail. Jonah had to go over the side of the vessel. And he went, expecting to sink straight to the bottom, and glad to sink rather than go to Nineveh. There was no way of escape, however, from Nineveh; and Jonah finally went—preaching to Ninevites with dis-

gust, and beholding with disgust their turning to the Lord in repentance. One privilege, he thought, would in a measure compensate him for the humiliation of being in Nineveh at all. He would see Nineveh destroyed. He would see the fire fall from heaven and hear the enemies of the Lord scream in the terrors of death. When it appeared at last that the city was not to be destroyed, Jonah's heart was broken. Then comes one of the loftiest passages in all literature: "Should not I have compassion on six-score thousand souls who know not their right hand from their left?" Who were these souls? Any commentator will tell us that these one hundred and twenty thousand persons could only have been children in the streets of Nineveh—ignorant and innocent of Assyrian cruelty. Jonah's thought did not include young Ninevites in the category of children. To him Ninevite babies were cub-tigers.

So paints the Old Testament the portrait of Jonah the Jew, rightly loyal to his country; Jonah the patriot, who had to learn that the truth of God, which was the

peculiar glory of Israel, was to be held in trusteeship even for Nineveh; Jonah, the man, who had to come to see that he must think even of hated Nineveh in human terms, the terms of innocent children playing in the streets. *If we could get our international relations to-day as far along as the teachings of Jonah the practical adjustments between nations would follow of themselves.*

Let us, however, not stop with Jonah, but come close to the concrete facts of this year of our Lord, 1923.

We have made some substantial gains in dealing with the war problem, the most substantial being that war now has few outright defenders. It is not far in the past that men like Admiral Mahan were virtually glorifying war and exalting the warrior type of human being. That day is past, even in the professional military circles. It is even no longer sacrilege to point out the limitations of the professional military intellect. An officer of high rank in the American army made the suggestion a few years ago that the unarmed condi-

tion of our Northern frontier is fraught with peril to the United States. Everybody saw in this merely an instance of that aberration which comes to any intellect debauched in overspecialization. For the most part the professional soldier is slow to call for war, certainly slower than our half-baked civilian jingoes and imperialists.

While, however, there is wide agreement on the undesirableness of war as such, and charitable amusement when even a military authority begins to talk about affairs outside his sphere, it takes the hero to stand against a particular war. It is for this reason that we shall have to make more and more place in our consideration for the one type of man in dead earnest in the anti-war warfare—for the conscientious objector against taking the life of men in any war. May I say at the outset that I am not myself a conscientious objector as the term is technically used. I say this, not with anything like pride but with something like regret. I am not of the stuff of which that type of martyr is made. When a young man arises full of the heat of a sincere crusade against war

my feeling toward him is that of admiration for a quality of moral genius I am not likely to attain unto. If war is ever done away with, it will be because the view of the conscientious objector—like that of the abolitionist in antislavery movements—will become substantially the nucleus around which the more moderate sentiment finally crystallizes, the view, namely, that human life is so inherently sacred that it must not be poured out upon battlefields. No argument will in the end avail against that insight. No argument thus far adduced against that argument has had anything more than mere expediency value. To say that the conscientious objector should not accept the protection of a society for which he will not fight would be funny if it were not so sad. A man who will submit to ridicule and physical indignity and imprisonment for the sake of an admittedly transcendent ideal is fighting for society at least as truly as the man who kills his fellow men in battle. It is about time, also, that we took account of the fact that there is back of every war what a suggestive English writer—one of the editors of

the Manchester Guardian—has called the unconscientious objector, the coward calling loudly for war and objecting to any risk for his own skin, searching for safe quarters from which to urge others to death.

It is in objection to war that spiritual heroism burns bright, for there the heroism runs substantial risks. The reactionary has an excuse in dealing with such exalted spirits as sincerely conscientious objectors for going to any length. He can even persuade himself that in putting such dangerous lunatics, as he thinks of them, out of the way he is doing God's service. Conscientious objection of the extreme type is for the most part outside of the church, and crusade against it easily secures the blessing of official ecclesiastics. The ground of forgiveness for such ecclesiastics is probably that they know not what they do. They are persecuting those who, impractical as they may be, are spiritually akin to the early Christians who would not worship the Roman emperor or join the emperor's legions. It is logically inconsistent and yet morally sound to admit that the conscien-

tious objector is foolish in face of what happens in this world to disarmed peoples like the Armenians; and to insist that the conscientious objector's stress on the sacredness of human life is the way out. To say that slavery could not be put away except by a moderate-minded Lincoln is not to minimize the value of an uncompromising Garrison. It would be presumptuous indeed to urge young men to stand up against a war-mad state, especially when he who urges cannot himself see his way clear to make such a stand. When, however, those who conscientiously object do thus stand, they make life more Christian for all of us whose consciences are not so acute, or whose minds see practical, weighty objections more alarmedly, or whose hearts are bowed down by the fear of involving in hardship friends and relatives for whom we feel heavy obligations. If such a saint arises, then, in any of our churches, let us thank God for the reproach and sting and questioning which he brings to those of us who sincerely cannot now follow with him. He helps keep Christianity Christian—possibly he points the way also to a deep

Christian experience. Those who deal with idealists of this type, and know how to distinguish between the shirker and the crack-brained on the one hand, and the martyrs and saints on the other, tell us that these objecting saints attain inwardly to a peace that passeth understanding—at least passing the understanding of the jingo ecclesiastic and the compromising priest. Of course that is not saying much, for neither jingo nor compromiser ever understands anything worth understanding. Jesus hinted at an understanding of the prophets reached by enduring persecution like theirs. A man who will denounce international inhumanity to-day with the directness with which Amos and Isaiah attacked such brutality in their day will learn more about Amos and Isaiah in one week after his outcry than he will learn from commentaries in a lifetime. The man who speaks for human value in the face of the mob's cry "Crucify him!" will enter more deeply into an understanding of the spirit of the cross than by the study of libraries of theology. We shall not all be absolutist objectors to war. Differences

of all sorts prevent. Society might go to pieces if any absolute movement absolutely captured everybody, for one absolutism involves others. On the other hand, society would rot if it were not for the salt of absolute protest against international evil. Salt is a type of peacemaker—a symbol of reconciliation. There is no use of talking of living together if life itself is not worth living. Life is not worth living with a war every decade or two.

After all, the conscientious objector may have more common sense than the rest of us. It seems absurd when the objector tells us he won't fight and that the way to stop war is to stop fighting. That is too simple to be a divine inspiration. It is the simplicity of lunacy. Is it? There is a tradition from the old days of Methodist frontier circuiting-riding of a preacher who once started to swim the Ohio River on an errand of mercy. When he was nearly across his strength gave out and he felt he must drown. He commended his soul to God and said farewell to the world. Then the ridiculous thought flashed into his mind, "Better let down and see how deep the

water is." It seemed almost sacrilege to entertain such a thought after his mood of prayer, but he let down. The water was only five feet deep, and he walked ashore. At first he felt that the Lord had almost trifled with him after the exalted mood of submission to the divine will, but returning good sense showed that the practical impulse was a flash of divine wisdom. It may be that the absolutist's call to the world to end war by stopping fighting is as divine as the old-time preacher's impulse to cease struggling against the waves and walk ashore. In any event, the absolutist is the yeast of the peace movement. Yeast is not over-palatable itself, but it makes other things palatable. Antiwar movements are likely to flatten down into dead dough without the ferment of the absolutist's insistence upon the inviolable sacredness of human life.

Actual physical warfare, however, is not the only form of conflict between nations, and the reign of good will and of peace will not necessarily have arrived as soon as men shall have beaten their swords into

plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Plowshares and pruning hooks can be quite as fatal instruments of warfare between nations as swords and spears—and that, too, when the plowshares are busy in the furrows and the pruning hooks in the vineyards. Sometimes the man in the furrow says he cannot plow unless he is protected by a man with a gun, as in the old frontier days, when the plowman was preceded by a man with a rifle who walked at the horse's head on the lookout for Indians. Those days have indeed passed, but there are still tillers of the soil who say that they cannot run their furrows unless the man with the gun will keep open world markets for their grain. So that it comes about that often the man behind the gun is the man with the plow. Let us trust that this day is passing. It means a violation of that rational good sense of which I spoke in an earlier paragraph.

Suppose that a new day dawns and that the nations actually learn physical war no more. Are we now able to live together as nations? Not necessarily, for economic

warfare through exclusive tariffs and other internationally restrictive measures may keep burning the spirit of hatred between nations. Since the days of Jesus we have heard that hatred keeps men out of the Kingdom, rather than actual blows with fists or clubs. I see no way to permanent peace between nations except as the nations learn to use their economic powers not as weapons of warfare but as bonds of union in service.

Here someone breaks out that all this means the doctrine that government is to interfere more and more in business, whereas business ought to be allowed to develop according to its own laws—laws with which we trifle at our peril. The objector avows that what I am now saying trends in the direction of socialism.

Will the objector please keep his seat for a minute while we look a few facts in the face! The question to-day is not whether government shall more and more concern itself with business, but whether government's concern shall be in behalf of this or that special interest, or in behalf of the widest human interests. It may, indeed,

be according to the American tradition that government shall interfere as little as possible with business, but it has been the American practice since the days of the Civil War that business shall control government as much as possible. How delightful to hear the shouter for high tariffs tell us that government should not interfere with economic movements! Let us make all concession to the upholder of tariffs. Let us concede that the horror of the Cobden Free Trade School at the fostering of American industries by protective tariffs was ill-considered, that America did wisely to build up her own industries rather than to fulfill the rôle of agricultural commissary to manufacturing England. Make the case for the tariff just as strong as we can, there is nevertheless no getting away from the fact that a tariff between nations is an interference by government in business, an interference with the free working of economic forces, an interference in principle just as radical, as far as it goes, as any economic expedient that socialism proposes. The high-tariff protectionist is the last man who has any right to protest against so-

cialism because socialism brings governmental activities into business. Whether the protest continues or not, government will more and more concern itself with business. Our hope is that the concern will take more and more into account the moral outcome of international financial adjustments.

Our hope, we repeat, is that the adjustments will be more and more in terms of all-inclusive human welfare, ruled by international agreement, backed up by an increasing international sentiment on the part of the mass of the voting population. We talk truly of capitalism as an international force. Why not talk about labor also—in the widest sense—as an international force? The ordinary "plain man" of Abraham Lincoln, especially if he be a toiler for his daily bread, can be depended upon, once he is informed, to act with quite as much soundness of international judgment as the capitalist. The plain man is quite as likely to respond to an appeal for sacrifice as the capitalist. In the days of our Civil War the Lancashire cotton workers voluntarily went down into uncomplaining poverty to sustain the North-

ern cause, which they felt to be the cause of free labor the world over.

These suggestions of unselfish, even sacrificial, international action are not desperate and crazy when viewed in the light of what actually goes on in smaller circles. As an illustration take the differential freight rate on railroads between the grain fields of the West and the cities of the Atlantic seaboard. For years it was true—perhaps it is still true—that Boston and Baltimore were granted advantages in freight rates as over against New York, so that they might not be too far left behind in commercial competition. More than once I have heard New York business leaders declare against this differential as an interference with natural economic movement. Possibly the railroad leaders who devised the differential scheme were not moved by altrustic ideals. Perhaps the railroads benefited. Nevertheless, the scheme was in the direction of sound social policy. Boston and Baltimore are established cities of immense social value. The differential was and is socially justified as lending them support, even if the support

in part has nullified New York's natural geographic advantage, even if, in effect, it has partially closed up the Mohawk Gap. So with many sound schemes of railroad pooling and centralization. The stronger roads have to bear a share of the burden of the weak, with no prospect of adequately remunerative financial return, for the general material welfare.

All I am trying to say is that economic forces are daily interfered with for a social result. Moreover, American national development would not have been possible if a group of States like those of the American nation had not come into practical cooperation rather than competition with one another. There is rivalry between differing States of our nation, no doubt, but the element of cooperation is stronger than the element of competition between them, and cooperation implies a sharing of losses as well as of gains.

I do not think we need go as far as an actual merging of nations to put ourselves in the path toward supplanting international competition, competition which may be a form of war with nations almost lit-

erally killing one another, by a cooperation which is a form of national living together. Take an extreme illustration, which is, after all, not beyond the range of conceivability. Here is a tropical country producing a given kind of vegetable, the sale of whose product gives that country its only chance toward economic prosperity. Botanists and chemists discover that with the aid of a tariff that tropical product can be produced and sold at a lower price in a temperate than in the tropical clime. Is it beyond reason to fancy that a majority of voters may say, "No, we will not aid in the artificial production of a plant which gives millions of people in another land their only chance at adequate human life"? It might even come to pass that the consuming public would refuse to buy products at a cheaper price than they could be produced by such tropical fruit-growers, for the sake of giving the tropical land its chance. Within more or less limited circles the natural laws of trade—buy as cheaply as you can and sell as dearly as you can—are being set at naught all the time.

Of course, all this implies some world

organization, but it does not necessarily imply a world-state. To put such a scheme into effect we do not have to wait till the millennium. The organization of the United States into a federation under the Constitution at once spread peace over a wider area of the world's surface than had ever been known up to the time of the organization, and the federation was not at the beginning the tight texture it is to-day. The Constitution of the United States may, indeed, have been the greatest work struck off at a given instant by the human mind, in the words of Gladstone, or it may have been at the outset a contrivance to protect property interests, in the words of some present-day critics, but it was a step forward in any event, a step which can conceivably be paralleled in some organization born of respect for human interests on a world-wide scale, an organization, rudimentary at first, which will not put any insuperable strain on the world's constructive intellect, certainly no more strain than that involved in carrying out to wider application a few international principles already in actual use.

A final comment on all the above is that just as economic forces are a sort of second line in actual warfare, so the public opinion of various nations is mobilized in war also as the determining power. War starts with the clash of arms. The clash of arms settles down to a physical deadlock in trenches while the economic forces of the fighting nations wear themselves out. Still the end of the war does not come until the spirit of one fighting group, or of all the groups, is broken. The battle is in the end that of public opinion against public opinion.

This being so, it is the duty of Christianity to bless all the forms of internationalism that help on to understanding between nations. While some scope must be left to the deliberate attempt to make the various peoples see eye to eye, we come back again and again to our chief thesis—the result can be better reached in uniting in common world-wide efforts. Hence the duty of furthering all forms of international cooperation to worthy ends. If the nations say: "Go to, now let us journey each to the land of others and all cultivate one another's good will," we shall

not get much farther than in similar ventures in personal life. If there are common tasks into which we can throw ourselves, we may find ourselves together without much raising of the question as to union. International combat against disease and against various evil traffickings does something; international finance, something; international labor agreements and conferences, more still; international science, something; international churches could be of immense help if they would cut out the cancer of ecclesiastical imperialism. "Nations! Love one another!" This sounds fine, but it is about as potent as to tell two human beings to love one another. If a match-maker, set on getting a young man and young woman to loving one another, were to preach, "Love one another," he would probably drive the two apart. So in larger affairs. If a common task is set before nations the mutual regard may come of itself.

Is there not danger that through all this preaching of international community of feeling the distinctiveness of different nations may die out? Public opinion in any

one nation is a terrible leveling engine when it takes to driving ahead like a continent-wide steam roller. If we had an international public opinion would not all liberal social ideas be crushed in the bud? Would not the separate nations stagnate? It is hard to believe that this objection is seriously urged. Are wars and the rumors of war between nations spurs to social progress? Is it not true that the oldest trick in the reactionary's box of tricks is to raise with ridiculous frequency the cry of war, that the nations may be distracted from social reform? If we had even a loose confederation of nations, there would soon be enough mutual understanding among the groups so that social experiments might be better made than now. No one wants uniformity among nations. If one nation is prompted to try out a new social order, the new order will come more quickly to success or failure in a society of nations mutually respecting one another than in a society where the tendency up and down can be stopped by war scares. One factor in preventing the world's finding out what Bolshevism actually is, by the course of its

own natural unfolding, has been that all the curses of Lenin and Trotzky against capitalism have seemed to Russians to be warranted by the attitude of capitalistic nations toward Russia.

On the whole, public opinion gives a pretty good account of itself when confronted with the possibility of social change. If the propagandists can be brought to tell the truth, public opinion is inclined to give social and political experiments their chance. In a cooperative group of nations there is every reason to believe that the separate nations would get a better chance to be themselves and to live their own lives than they do in to-day's fancied independence. Possibly the best patriot in the end is the one who shouts for all the other nations as well as for his own.

Patriotism can be saved only on condition that it be led to Christian rebirth, birth out of the world of selfishness into the world of service. We need as Christians to remind ourselves that we worship a covenant-God, a God whose nature is Christlike indeed, but whose Christlikeness is fundamentally moral. God is under no

obligation continually to bless a fighting world. If the people cannot learn to live together, there is no fatalistic optimism which calls for the continuance of the inane spectacle of warfare. After the race has killed off its best members, evolution might conceivably run backward and downhill, with the light of human life finally sputtering and flickering out, to the vast relief of all intelligences in the universe. We do not expect the resources of divine power to be thus foiled; but if such tragedy should be the outcome, what could we say but that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether? If we are to avoid such an outcome, patriotism must experience Christian salvation. An unregenerate patriotism will inevitably burn up the riches of the earth, destroy the race, and leave a blackened globe—a cosmic pile of ashes—as a monument to human fatuity, imbecility, and selfishness.

V

BETTER TERMS WITH SCIENCE

One of the age-old human conflicts is that between science and religion. One of the perennial struggles toward reconciliation is that which would bring science and religion to live together amicably.

It would be a waste of time to try to sketch out the changing phases of this so-called warfare between science and religion. Much of the conflict has depended upon misunderstanding of terms, and misunderstanding, also, of the proper territories and frontiers of the two contending factions. Any conflict measurably lessens when the contestants begin to realize their own limitations. Both science and religion have been considerably chastened by the discussions of the last half century, and the signs of mutual regard and concession to-day are more plentiful than ever before.

In intellectual, as in other battles, a gain is made when the opponents arrive at mutual respect. This discussion will show, I trust,

that science and religion have arrived or are arriving at such respect. As in most battles, in some particulars science has won outright; in others, religion has won outright; in others still there is legitimate compromise or, at least, treaty of peace. In some aspects of this conflict there has been agreed-upon delimitation of territory; in some there is manifest a willingness, even an eagerness, on both sides for co-operation. To speak in terms of physics, in some encounters there has been direct collision, with the stronger force winning a victory over the weaker. In others, two forces, meeting as at an angle, have been compounded into a new force acting with a changed direction. In still others the forces have purposely merged together, uniting their powers.

We now know the nature of the conflict better than ever. We know that we are dealing not with absolute entities—science and religion—arrayed against each other. There is no such absolute as science, no such absolute as religion. There are human beings, some of them more or less scientific, some of them more or less religious, though

even here we get into the fog when we try to define terms sharply enough to divide classes. Many a saint is scientific without knowing it, and many a scientist is religious without suspecting his own piety. The recognition of this decidedly human aspect of our problems enables us to get our bearings at the same time that we give up our sharpness of classificatory distinctions. Incidentally, we learn to discount the dogmatist, either scientific or ecclesiastic. Possibly the long, long conflict has not been between science and religion as such at all, but between dogmatic ecclesiastics and dogmatic scientists. The confusion has been increased by the complications which come out of organization on the one side and on the other. Organized Christianity is not necessarily always religious, and the scientific mind sometimes organizes its pronouncements into orthodoxies which are not scientific.

One long step toward peace, we repeat, is in the discovery that each group of contestants has its limitations. There are some questions that science cannot answer;

some that religion cannot answer. Science concerns itself chiefly with the processes by which events come to pass; with the formulas and laws which tell us how changes happen and how forces act. The religious leader arises with a standard of moral and spiritual values to tell us what results are worth after they are achieved. To take an illustration from a less debatable field, think of the distinction between an artist and a scientist. The scientist can tell us how a glorious sunset, for example, or a pageant of color at dawn, comes about. He knows the laws of light and of color. The artist, who may understand none of these laws, can point out the æsthetic charm of the sunset. There is no reason for a fight between artists and scientists as long as the artists stick to art and the scientists stick to science. So also with scientific statements and religious interpretations.

In outline, I think, the above commonly accepted delimitation of the field between science and religion will have to stand. Practically, it does not carry us far. The problem is more complex than such a sum-

mary would indicate, just because we are treating not with an abstract science and an abstract religion, but with human beings who are at the same time more or less both scientific and religious. The scientific man often carries into his science religious or antireligious assumptions, and the religious man often carries into his devotional meditation scientific or antiscientific assumptions. It will not suffice, therefore, to trace a boundary between science and religion and tell each to keep on its own side of the fence. Theoretically, religion as the study of values, and science as the study of methods and processes, are sharply distinguished. Practically, since we are dealing with human beings, scientific and religious thinking get badly mixed up. Let us call attention, then, to the need of keeping the assumptions of science clear. If the physicist assumes that matter and force are all, God, freedom, and immortality will be ruled out —ruled out not because the physicist has proved scientifically that they do not exist, but because materialistic philosophy has interfered in his investigations. The religious man likewise may avow that his

faith convinces him that events in the spiritual realm have happened by certain definite processes. He is not talking faith at all—possibly he is uttering poor science. Both in religious and scientific thinking we need to remember to watch the assumption. It is the recognition of this need that is making in part for increased charity between men of science and men of religion. Both walk by faith, the scientist by faith in a method or theory, the religionist by faith in a spiritual value or a doctrine. The man of science is learning his lesson fully as well as the man of religion. The scientist is more and more seeing that expectations and theories play quite as effectively in leading him into scientific truth or error as do his test tubes and his lenses, and he is scrutinizing the theories. No irremediable harm can come if the assumptions are openly recognized and their significance taken into the philosophic account.

As a current illustration of the extent to which assumption works in determining the findings of students even in a most objective field, think of two interpretations of

the Einstein doctrine. Einstein comes forward with a theory of space and time which claims to do away with the possibility of any one all-embracing space or of any one all-embracing time such as appear to be assumed in the doctrines of Newton. Einstein's own space and time seem to be pretty closely interwoven—but there is no absolute cosmic space-standard or time-standard by reference to which different relative spaces and times can be brought into unity—we have not space and time, but as many spaces and times as we have observers. Now comes Viscount Haldane, a thinker of scientific habit, devoted to an idealistic philosophy. He hails Einstein as the greatest intellect of the last two hundred years, and sees in his theory almost a final seal set upon idealism because of the apparent emphasis of Einstein on predominantly mental construction in space and time. The physicist has driven matter as self-existent stuff out of the universe, replacing it with forces in space. Einstein has gone a step further and has delivered us from bondage to self-existent space. As Haldane passes on Bertrand Russell ap-

pears, a mathematical philosopher of quite definitely atheistic bent, and acclaims Einstein as having set space and time free from mental construction or, at least, as having provided a space and time in which something outside of and indifferent to mind goes on under its own laws. Russell is so set against pragmatism, or against any system which seems to let the human-will-to-believe count, that he appears at times to make the will-not-to-believe determinative of truth; but his interests in a preconceived outcome are just as marked as Haldane's. Manifestly, a thinker can accept Einstein and be either a theist or an atheist. The Einstein geometry and mathematics are what they are. Einstein states the formulas, and the theist believes in God, just as before, while the atheist finds new reason for not believing in God. Einstein himself is apparently not particularly concerned, one way or the other. Very likely he does not care overmuch what either Haldane or Russell is saying. In his own expositions he sticks so closely to mathematics and astronomy that the element of assumption seems re-

duced to a minimum—though he himself is moving on a most overwhelming assumption, namely, that a human mind on an insignificant planet, which is a cosmic speck floating as a beam in the light, can read off the secrets of the astronomical universe with an exactness finer than a hair's breadth.

By the way, it is always interesting to note how those who rule mind out of the universe do so in the name of mind. Here is Einstein's theory, built on the most extraordinary intellectual achievements. His instrument is a theory of tensors, of which, it is said, only a dozen men have any adequate knowledge—an intellectual apparatus uniformly characterized as powerful. The power must have existed in the mind which created the apparatus. Yet this wholly intellectual instrument manipulated by a thinker like Bertrand Russell is a tool for exorcising mind from the universe! Mind, in the name of mind, says to mind, "There is no mind." If mind counts for nothing in the universe, it is mind itself that has found out its own weakness. A mind strong enough to discover its own

weakness is fairly strong. If this seems not quite fair, let us consider that mind, after all, is the discoverer of what even the scientist thinks of as the facts about the universe, and that the discovery of physical truth, depending as it does upon tremendously intense putting forth of intellectual energy, is itself a phenomenon to be explained. If we could think of mind as a mere passive somewhat on which a universe prints a picture of itself, we would have one problem—provided we could find some mind to see the picture—but nobody can look upon the mathematical processes by which astronomical truth is caught in equations and think of mind as passive. If the materialist means that mind has no materially creative force in the universe, his argument is at least intelligible, but when he goes on to show that mind is a passive accompaniment of physical process he is talking nonsensical paradox, in face of the elaborately subtle and powerful intellectual machinery with which his own mind does its work. It would take quite a different type of matter from any we know to be able

materialistically to account for Einstein's tensors.

To get back to our main path, we find growing understanding between religious thinkers and scientific thinkers in the increasing recognition by open-minded religious teachers of what we all call the scientific temper. The publication of the biographies of leading scientists has been almost as productive of spiritual nourishment for the religiously minded as has the publication of the lives of the saints. The genuine scientist, like the genuine saint, has been better than the organization of which he is a part, though scientists, artists, and saints would never come to their best if they were not aided by the cooperative effort of "schools." A school of scientists, or an organized body of scientists, however, soon develops its own brand of scientific orthodoxy. It acquires vested interests in the teaching of its theories. It gets snobbish and pharisaical in the use of the scales it manufactures to test scientific orthodoxy. All the objections that can be urged against the dogmatism and pharisa-

ism and bigotry of religious orthodoxy, once it hardens into organization, can be urged against science, once it ossifies into the final stages of organization. In fact, the more truly religious leaders and the more truly scientific leaders often find a basis of union in the clash with the same sorts of dogmatic foes who appear both in the religious and in the scientific ranks.

All this apart, the true saint and the true scientist are much alike. The saint seeks to follow God's will whithersoever it leads him and the scientist follows truth whithersoever it leads him. The saint learns God's will by childlike openness of mind—by patient waiting day after day for truth to unfold itself, by willingness to receive the truth for its own worth when once it appears, regardless of the quarter whence it has actually arrived. The same description will serve word for word to set forth the character of the scientist. The great scientists and the great saints are much alike.

We have been trying to say all along that the final bond of union between groups is that of cooperation toward a

common end. The religious mind and the scientific mind are more and more cooperating in the name of the self-evident human ideals—are seeking to render the vastest possible human service.

Here we hear the voice of protest. Many a religionist will have it that even when science is not hostile to religion it is so set on facts for facts' sake that the result is the same. The scientist cares for facts as facts, and only as facts. This charge is sometimes welcomed by the scientist himself. He avows that science cannot flourish on human interests; especially must it cast out all taint of practical consideration.

Practical interests are one thing; human interests may be another. The scientist is justified in protesting against the emphasis on utilitarian considerations in scientific research. He points out that the most important practical results of science have been made possible as the outcome of the discoveries of students with no bread-and-butter aim. Of course, if the objector is not careful, he will reinstate the practical aim by such argument, but in the main the point is well taken. Still, we are not rid

of the human reference. In the contemplation of the most abstract mathematical truth there is always implied the delight which the truth gives, or may give, the onlooker. The scientist may feel a positive thrill of delight at a discovery. He burns to communicate the discovery to others. "The discovery is so significant," he says; but significance is significant only in reference to a mind. The scientist talks about the consistency of his results as they hold together in a logical plan, of the dependence of parts one on another, of the self-sufficient beauty of the scientific hypothesis. Mind — mind — mind — all through! The discovery has come out of the pressure of mental interests. So the scientist and the seeker after religion in the end set on high the contemplation of truth as a lordly human aim. In lofty theory of the working of the forces of the universe the saint declares that his soul is fed by thinking God's thoughts after him —that, too, without any reference to the utilitarian character of the thoughts. The scientist may not be willing to admit that he is seeking to ennoble the human mind

by setting before it the vastest thought, but that is what he is doing nevertheless. He may not speak outright of God, but he has given mighty content to the idea of God. He has stretched out the spaces between suns and stars and given longer radius for the leap of the divine forces. The scientist has not, we repeat, given us a God, but he has expanded and made massive the idea of God which we already have.

This, however, is perhaps too quantitative in its suggestiveness. The scientist has forced upon the upholder of religion a more qualitative idea of the divine working, which is being more and more welcomed by the religious thinker—the idea of the pervasion of the activities of the world throughout with law. This insistence upon law, upon regularity in the procedure of the forces of the universe, is the best single contribution which the scientist has made to the progress of religion. We are to-day everywhere interpreting the forces of the universe as the activities of the Divine Agent here and now. If we can just get fast hold of that idea, we shall see that

every additional formulation of a law of nature is a further hint of the regularity of the divine mind. We shall see that the scientist and the preacher should work together to discover law in the working of the world. God saves men by the methods of psychological movement; he reveals himself to men by processes which the historical student can grasp and state; he carries out his will through organizations which must work according to ascertainable group laws.

What, then, becomes of miracle? Miracle as the manifestation of the working of a force whose law we have not yet learned, or miracle as the expression of the unique working of unique spiritual power, or miracle on any terms that make it the manifestation of a law-observing God, will stay; but miracle as the sign of lawlessness, or of breaking of the law, or of arbitrary irregularity will go. It is odd that in discussion of miracles some of those who clamor for miracle as the setting aside of law do not see that the sinners are the miracle-workers, on such a definition. Sinners are the setters-aside of the law. The

saint works the higher miracle of seizing and utilizing law. Certain extraordinary occurrences in the scriptural revelation will probably always be accepted as facts. The religious interpretation of those facts will more and more bring them into line with the idea of a rationally working Agent whose laws are the expression of supreme wisdom. There is almost a tinge of sacrilege in some theological insistence that God shall set aside laws. The laws are an expression of the divine nature. It is a curious twist of mind that seeks to set aside a law which, in the Christian view of the world, is the sign of divine regularity, in the name of the search for intelligence in the World-Agent.

The purpose of that Agent both scientists and teachers of religion will have to leave to faith. Why things are as they are is, of course, the mystery of mysteries, and the mere inspection of nature's processes cannot fully answer us. More and more does pain in the human and animal realms become opaque mystery. Still, there is no reason why we should make the facts darker than they are. The scien-

tist assumes an intelligible universe and an orderly plan. These help and help mightily as the man of faith announces his faith. It helps also to realize more and more that the scientist as such no longer seeks to disprove the essentials on which religious faith builds—at least, the scientist who understands himself. Take the intimate correlation which to-day we know to exist between physical and mental processes. There is no use blinking the fact that many and many a scientist believes that this connection is so close that mind is essentially and always subordinate to matter; but this is belief and not proof. Why get alarmed, moreover, at the statement of such materialism in specific terms when we have always had to deal with it in general terms? Ever since men knew anything they seem to have known that thinking somehow has to do with a man's head. If we can make an adjustment to that age-old conception, why get excited when some one tells us specifically that particular forms of thinking have to do with particular parts of the head and that to cut out these parts will stop that kind of think-

ing? We have always known the general truth that if we strike a man's head, the man may stop thinking, and we do not accept materialism because of that universally admitted fact. Again, we have always known that given bodily states have significance in influencing some manifestations of human character. Here is a man in a violent outbreak of temper. We say that he is not himself, that he is beside himself, that he is sick. The general effect of bodily states on the manifestation of moral states has always been known. Why worry if some physiological psychologist shows the connection between the working of particular glands and some manifestations of moral character? The strict scientist admits that this proves nothing more than a dependence which may be merely a feature of an earthly existence. Faith does not consist in believing in spite of disproof. It believes in putting the best construction on what we know, and of assuming the best where we do not know.

A moment ago I spoke of the tendency

of the scientist to be somewhat disparaging of the more practical interests. May I say here that since we live in a work-a-day world, the field in which men of religion and men of science are coming more closely together is that of the practical work of the relief of human suffering and the release of human energies. The man of religion is trying more and more to use the scientific method in the spirit of Christ—and is not the man of science fundamentally doing the same, even when he may not name the name of Christ? How far would a scientist get to-day if he should flatly declare that he will not work in a Christly spirit, that he will think only of himself, that he will make all the money he can, that he will be absolutely cold-blooded and selfish? That is not the spirit of science. The scientist and the preacher work together to make the world a better place in which to live.

Suppose we think of the actual reconciliations manifested in a well-ordered hospital of to-day, a hospital which, if you please, is controlled and supported by a church. The hospital is impossible with-

out a respect on the part of the scientists for the aim of the church as seeking to minister to human need, and without a realization on the part of the church authorities that it is useless to open the hospital doors without the aid of scientists. By the side of every operating table and every cot are at work theories of disease and cure which would have been heresies a century ago. The whole conception of sickness as a punishment upon the individual for his personal sins is a monstrosity in a hospital. If a doctor or a nurse should insist upon treating sick people primarily as sinners deserving of penalty, there would be at once an outcry from the church as well as from science. The idea that pain is to be banished as far as possible was formerly itself under the ban of theologians who held that to annihilate pain was to minimize the curse which the fall of man laid upon the race. The atmosphere of a hospital is charged with reconciliations between science and religion, to say nothing of reconciliations between scientists and scientists and believers and believers. Pain is no respecter of creeds—and the treat-

ment of pain is the same for the creed-holders and creed-rejectors. Theories of microbic processes which once divided scientists into warring camps now bind the erstwhile combatants together. It calls for but slight effort of imagination to carry through on the world-wide scale this dream of reconciliation as, all over the world, men of a Christ spirit seek to make the scientific method work in the spirit of Christ. Science itself is one of the indispensable agencies of the Christian reconciliation, for science itself can hardly progress except as it seeks for a world community and a world sphere in which to move.

These considerations may give us an avenue of approach to the problem of how to deal with forward movements in churches where the progress is the outcome of the spirit of science, or the temper of science, working through the churchmen. In our thought of the function of the theological leader let us remember that all progress in adaptation between older theologies and newer views made necessary by

scientific advance passes through well-marked stages. Almost any new view is at first met with opposition. There is at the beginning fierce fighting. The opening attack declares that the new idea is heresy. After the fighting cools down there is gradual acceptance of the supposed heresy, with the avowal that it is a matter of indifference whether we accept it or not. The view is pronounced harmless in any case. Finally arrives the stage at which the view is widely accepted as an essential, or, at least, an important contribution to human thinking. The view at last becomes itself thoroughly orthodox, and we may even think of it as belonging to that self-evident truth which men have always believed.

The first contribution that the so-called innovator makes is in raising his question at all—or insisting upon his right to question. Any organization of truth, especially of religious truth, is safe only when the questioner is at hand. Orthodoxies of all kinds, religious or scientific alike, are socially permissible only on condition that they stand out in the open where what

William James called the northwest wind of free inquiry can roar around them. Theology must meet the questioning of every age, and the questioner is performing an indispensable social and religious function. The more closely and compactly organized religious truth becomes, the more the need of scrutiny, for in the nature of truth—a nature which implies organic adjustments and readjustments and living change and rebirth—anything suggestive of overorganization smacks of error. The more a church becomes sure of its formal theology the more need for the questioner.

A further service rendered by the sayer of new things is just that of making the new conception familiar. The ordinary man in church or out of church gets over his fear as he becomes more familiar with the fearful. Here is a heretic who keeps on announcing his heresy year after year. If, now, the heretic is driven out of the church, an element of persecuting force has been brought to play which prevents the consideration of the heresy on its merits. Persecution sometimes does harm in leading to the spread of persecuted doctrines

which ought not to be spread. Suppose, on the other hand, the heretic goes on without interruption, in full and free discussion. The heavens do not fall. If the idea is absurd, its absurdity is seen through after a while. If it is sound, the soundness becomes apparent. The idea becomes familiar. Perhaps even the heretic, on his own account, sees his own weakness, after a while.

The best resolution for a church to make in dealing with a rising generation of youths filled with the new wine of a rather raw scientific progressiveness is to cultivate a shock-proof nervous stability. For many years I have been frequently holding personal interviews with college students on matters of religious faith and practice. I have listened to veritable processions of twenty-year-old atheists and anarchists as they have banished God out of the universe and order from human society. More than once I have seen the youthful philosopher stop and say with a boyish grin, in response to a calm "What of it?" "Well, it does sound rather stupid, now that I have talked it out."

Sometimes the "What of it?" has to recognize that in all honesty there is a great deal to be squarely met and fairly treated. At any rate, it is the business of the church to press to close quarters with the question which has been raised—close enough to it to rob it of all advantage it may possess through sheer strangeness, or of terror through unfamiliarity.

It is well for us all to remember also the part played by the pioneer in pushing new ideas out to extreme statement. What is balance in religious thinking? A steadiness so stiff that there is no rolling of the ship? Such steadiness is likely to cut down the speed. Balance is such construction that the boat can roll considerably without upsetting. In the history of both scientific and religious ideas progress comes as various doctrines are carried out to their logical extremes in statement. In statement, I say, for the inertia of human nature is on the whole a safeguard against any doctrine's being widely carried to an extreme in practice. We cannot always understand a doctrine till it is given its farthest conceivable putting. Hence, there

is a stage in the development of every doctrine when its advocates make it explain everything. It does not explain everything, but the far-fetched putting enables us to get at the truth or the falsity. In the end the conception from which the advocate expected everything may find itself filling a disappointingly small niche in the temple of human philosophy, but it might not have occupied even that without the extravagant expositions of its supporters.

If anyone is terrified at any of the above suggestions, let it be remembered that we are taking certain conditions for granted. We are assuming, above all, that we are dealing with servants of the church in search of the truth. If some reader is inclined to think that all this would warrant a religious thinker's swinging clear over into atheism so as to make the most of a scientific theory, let him ask himself how many theologians are likely to do this, or how many would be willing to remain inside the church if they became atheists. We assume, also, that not all the members of a church are likely to be extremists themselves or to yield overmuch to ex-

tremism. We are thinking of the place and function in the church of the earnest, scientifically minded youth who is burning with the passion of the intellectual crusader. We insist that there are not likely to be enough of such crusaders at any one time to do harm to the church. We believe, further, that they are absolutely essential to the safety of the church. A church is safe only as it is alive.

Another objector will have it that all this opens the way to spiritual loss, even disaster to the thinker himself. To which we reply that we have danger in any plan. What about the danger that young men run of reacting violently against ultra-conservative attitudes toward science and scientific truth? After an observation extending through thirty years I am in doubt as to whether professedly conservative theological schools do not send out upon the church theological radicals—and poorly equipped radicals at that. The student too conservatively taught is likely some day to react against conservative teaching and then try to find his way along alone, with the result that his progressive temper

is raw and possibly fierce. There is only one method of safety in this scientific day, and that is to face all the newer statements of science bearing on religion openly and frankly and let discussion do its best or its worst.

I labor this point at the risk of belaboring it. Truth is so important that we must not block any channel through which it may arrive. Even if we do not have the scientific temper—and the majority of us do not—we must get into the attitude of hospitality toward scientific claims. Hospitality does not mean that we are to take in as a permanent guest everything that calls itself scientific, but it does mean that we are to entertain scientific strangers long enough to see if they are angels. A number of years ago a bill was introduced into the Legislature of Massachusetts to forbid the teaching of certain unconventional follies—in physical healing, I believe. William James appeared to protest against the passage of the bill. Probably nobody in the Assembly knew better the nonsense of the particular views at which the bill aimed than did James—trained as he was both in

physiology and psychology. Moreover, James recognized the right of a community to protect itself against crazy medical practice. He protested, however, against any limitation of discussion of any scientific themes, on the broad ground that if we close up even supposedly dangerous doors, we shut entrances through which truth may be revealed. James was right. When we contemplate the inertia of the human mind, its unwillingness to surrender a view to which it has become snugly adjusted, the vested interests, not merely financial but emotional and intellectual, we can see that oftentimes along with the cranks who haunt the outer courts of the kingdom of the learned there may be a Columbus with the promise of a new East in his strange jargon.

A word about vested interests other than financial. When we speak of vested interests we usually refer to stocks and bonds which may be disturbed by new social teachings. We are not just now thinking of social theories or of stocks and bonds. Such vested interests are not the only ones working on the side of a too stiff

conservatism. Here is a teacher who has been trained in the classics at heavy expense of time and money. The time and money are not in themselves the weightiest factors making for conservatism as over against an emphasis on the sciences. The teacher has invested himself in the study and teaching of the classics, so that he in all sincerity cannot see the way clear to cast his vote in faculty meeting for a modification of curriculum which would make larger room for the present-day scientific tendencies. So in spite of many, many teachers who, trained in the methods of a generation ago, nevertheless welcome the new, the teacher with a vested interest stands against the progressive view. This is especially true with teachers by the score whose meager salaries have prevented their getting a chance at intellectual progress. The underpaid teacher is almost always unprogressive, for he has never had a chance to get a new vested interest.

The case is similar with the ministry. A barrel of sermons is a vested interest, though it might be fine if preachers to-day wrote more, inasmuch as the writing habit

is the intellectually organizing habit. Methods of thinking that get fastened on the mind are almost literally vested interests. Upset to such methods is oftentimes as damaging as an earthquake to an old and settled community. Congregations can acquire vested interests in habits of thinking and feeling and doing.

Is it not, however, folly to be thus on the lookout for all this new light supposedly coming from the scientific quarter when there is so much that is established and wholesome which Christian pulpits and schools can preach and teach? If all our time were given to gazing off toward scientific high places, we should indeed be guilty of grave error. I do not plead for that. I even have serious doubts as to whether the preacher should often bring controversial theological themes into the pulpit. These can be better handled in discussion groups where there is opportunity for question and answer. Still, the realm of scientific thinking is preeminently the progressive realm—using the words "scientific" and "progressive" in the best sense—and the church is under obligation to keep wrestling with the

thought problems presented by the use of the scientific method. It is only the investigating teacher who is the inspiring, quickening teacher. This is as true of a teaching church as it is of a teaching individual. The church must inquire and inquire and inquire to save its own mind. In keeping its mind saved it has a chance to keep its soul saved.

The objection comes once more that the church could get along better with science if science were not so destructive in temper. Science is always telling us to doubt whatever we cannot prove, whereas religion must always ask us to believe many things beyond the realm of proof. This distinction, however, is overdrawn. Science takes for granted many things that cannot be proved, and always will have so to do. Religion doubts many things, and always must. Religion and science will have to join hands in some works of destruction, but both are at bottom constructive. Let me repeat what I said about the function of the progressive in holding ideas before the church until they become familiar. It

is not necessary for the progressive always to be attacking what he calls out-of-date views. Some attack is necessary, for such views may be worshiped as idols. Then the demand is for the idol-smasher. The attack of the idol-smasher, however, may not succeed by smashing the idol, but by relocating it, in getting it out of one place to another where its true significance is obvious. The idol-smasher wants the room of the idol for something else and the quickest way is to show the impotence of the idol. If some archæologist should to-morrow discover a golden calf like that which Aaron made, and should discover also evidence that the chosen people had worshiped, at some time or other, that very calf, there would not arise in Christendom an outcry for the destruction of the calf. We are too far along for that. We would regard the calf most highly, as possibly a most valuable article for a museum. Now, the only way to get some ideas out of vital control over the theologians, and over scientists, for that matter, is to attack them. First the power of the idea idols is shattered, after that they are put in a minor place,

and finally they are labeled for the theological museum.

Not many ideas or institutions can be destroyed outright, but, as Lincoln said of slavery, if they are wrong, they can be put in the course of ultimate extinction. Or, in biological phrase, they can be brought to atrophy through disuse. Still, few changes are brought about by mere disuse. There must be the positive use of something better. The church finds a more excellent way. She announces that way. The old way ceases to be crowded, then falls out of repair, then becomes grass-grown, and at last is forgotten, except for its name on the theological map, while the people throng the better theological highway.

A cynic, speaking some months ago of the church and science, said that there is no longer any need of the church, that the chief function of the church in human society has always been destructive, that its business has been to urge men to kill their fellows in war, but that now science has discovered such effective ways of killing that the church can be henceforth dis-

mantled. There is enough substance in this venomous jibe to suggest to us, by contrast, the need of a union of religion and science in a world-wide constructive purpose. The church has indeed sanctioned destruction in war after war. We may say if we will that religion and the church are not necessarily one and the same, but for the present question the distinction does not greatly help us. The church is made up of people, in overwhelming majority religious, who have sincerely called on God to bless war. Science, with a purely scientific impersonalism, has pointed out the deadliest way of killing by wholesale. This is not the whole story, to be sure, but it is one terrible chapter. Can we not turn our backs on the past and seek to follow a new life in social upbuilding, following the commandment of God?

The place to begin, we repeat, is with the task of building up the broken world in which we now find ourselves. If the scientist will have it that science must seek knowledge for its own sake without regard to practical consequences, and if the upholder of religion maintains that religion

must be more than works of relief, let both and all remember that in actual active service of men there arise those states of mind and of feeling which make for the sensitiveness out of which we achieve both scientific and spiritual discoveries. What we may think of as the lower, more practical activities may in the end release the higher intellectual and spiritual energies, just as digging and crushing rock and earth at last bring the engineer to the seizure of those rare but mighty forces which inhere in radium.

The outlook to some men to-day is dark as they feel after God merely by the mental processes of the scientist. The heavens seem brass above some religious teachers who try, merely by thinking, to find out God. If we are to consider an acute current debate, the evolutionary statement, with its long-time measures and its incredibly slow stages, with its tracing in detailed steps the progress upward through lower to higher forms of life, is declared by the "fundamentalist" theology particularly to be out of harmony with any belief in God.

I hold no brief for the doctrine of evo-

lution, but evolution in some form is likely here to stay. The fundamentalist may vote it down, but the fundamentalist's children will adjust themselves to it, and will probably be quite as religious as the fundamentalist. A greater feat of adjustment of religion to science than that required by uniting theism and evolutionary method has already been performed. I refer to the adjustment to the Copernican theory. The Ptolemaic theory, with the earth as its center, fits in better with our preconceptions of the dignity of man and the creative methods of God. Let us give our fancy rein for a moment. The stars nearest the earth are four light years distant. That is to say, it would take us four years, traveling with the speed of light, or 186,000 miles a second, to reach them. Suppose we could travel the four years to a star and should find there intelligences with whom we could communicate. It would require a large-sized celestial directory in that star to find space for mention of an astronomical speck like the earth. We would experience a realizing sense that we had been dwellers on the planet in an

out-of-the-way, obscure country lane of the universe rather than on one of the main highways.

Space measures of inconceivable magnitude are employed in astronomy, and time measures also. What becomes of man amid such yard-sticks and clocks? To all of this the religious mind has adjusted itself and holds fast the idea of God. Recall what I said in an earlier paragraph—the earth may be insignificant, but the dwellers on the earth have been significant enough to read the secrets of the universe. If we have not lost God in the infinite spaces of the Copernican universe, we need not lose him in the long-time stretches of the evolutionary theory.

Of course, the problem of human and animal pain is with us as almost opaque mystery on any theory. Here the solution is not by reason but by faith, faith in the Christlikeness of the God of Christ. Such faith is a distinct spiritual achievement, but when achieved can get along better with evolutionary than with nonevolutionary theories.

VI

CHRISTIANITY AND RISING TIDES OF COLOR

Since the close of the Great War observers of world conditions have noted, some with gratification and some with alarm, that there is a new temper among the so-called non-Christian nations, chiefly among the so-called peoples of color. One affrighted journalist fears that this rising tide may sweep everything of Western civilization away. Another rejoices in the temper as a sign of a new self-dependence among peoples hitherto set upon and abused and exploited by Europe. In any case the writers use the word "rising." The rising may be the rising of a tide of color, or it may be the rising of a spirit of wrath, or the rising of a new day of democracy in the East, but it is admittedly a rising of something.

This changed spirit makes a new problem for Christianity, or it puts an old problem in a new light. We cannot as

glibly as of old use the eloquence as to how superior Christian nations are to non-Christian, and how desperately the non-Christian nations are in need of evangelization by the Occident. The non-Christian nations may admit a need of salvation, but they are not so ready to admit now as formerly that the Christian nations are the agents of salvation. As saviours of the world we do not stand as high as we did a few years ago. The spectacle of Christian nations tearing at one another's throats has not been an evangel of lofty order. Moreover, the intelligent non-Christian is beginning to suspect that the recent fighting was not merely for transcendent ideals of political liberty, but that it had back of it also a greed for world markets and raw materials, and that the non-Christian nations themselves are in danger of being part of the ultimate spoil of so-called Christian civilization. The non-Christian peoples have, again, borrowed some of the idea weapons with which we found it so easy to fight from 1914 to 1918, the weapon of self-determination in particular. If it were not for the con-

ceivably tragic outcome of the new temper, it would be humorous to note how neatly this doctrine of self-determination has been turned by the so-called non-Christian nations themselves from a statement of an abstract ideal for them to a definite program by them. Self-determination is a slogan which will be used more and more by the East itself against the exploitation of the East by the West.

In view of this rising, or already risen, temper it is imperative that Christianity take on herself the responsibility for the Christianization of her international and racial contacts. The Christian missionaries go out to different types of nations, to professedly Christian nations with a Christianity like that of Roman Catholicism; to independent nations like China or Japan whose religion is non-Christian; to nations or social groups like India and the Philippines which are dependencies of other groups; to the so-called nonadult peoples like the African tribes. All forms of missionary approach are to proceed on a deep and sincere respect for the peoples approached. This is the absolutely indispen-

sable prerequisite. It means henceforth a shift from the paternal and condescending well-wishing which would patronize the non-Christian, or the Christian of different type from that of the missionary; it means warfare against any governmental or commercial treatment of so-called backward peoples which overlooks the claims of essential humanity.

I think I know something of the shortcomings of the Roman Catholic system as applied to missionary tasks, but I must never forget that Roman Catholicism, in dealing with all its problems, aims to meet certain thoroughly human demands. I reject as ardently as any Protestant the overcentralization of the Roman Church, but I must not forget that in spite of the overcentralization, in spite of any part which compulsion through fear may, as is so often alleged, play in Catholic loyalty, in spite of use of worldly means for ecclesiastical ends and in spite, too, of alliance with controlling classes as against masses, still the Roman Church has its power through meeting some outstanding human needs. Roman Catholicism is the pre-

dominant religion in some countries because the peoples of those countries crave that type. In their attendance upon the Roman Church such peoples are voting for that church. Quite possibly they ought to desire another type; but he who goes to preach in a Roman Catholic country must see how the church meets the demands of that country, and then by actual life show a more excellent way. Especially is it folly to talk in a Catholic country of the low type of national life fostered by Catholicism, for then the national pride is wounded. Fostering is impossible without the consent of the fostered.

Whatever the form of religion in the land where the missionary works he must try to understand that religion. Religion is like democracy or morality in that an underlying spirit may take on diverse forms. One of the most difficult spiritual achievements for an American Christian, even though he be filled with a spirit of humble devotion to his Lord, is to respect a democracy of any other than an Anglo-Saxon form. In a genuine sense democracy is not so new as we sometimes fancy. The

popular will has always shaped the institutions of many countries which we do not think of as democratic. It is well for nations to have the most up-to-date machinery of democracy, of course, but sometimes a thoroughly democratic expression can be made through imperfect machinery. We can seldom judge an institution by what the institution seems on the face of it to be. For illustration, the Constitution of the United States was not originally intended to be as democratic as it now is. We have only to read the provisions about the election of the President by the electoral college to be convinced of the undemocratic intention of the framers of the Constitution. A reader of the Constitution may declare that it is possible for the electoral college to defeat the will of the people. So it is, on paper, but now utterly impossible in fact.

The forms of institutions may not mean much, but the spirit back of them means everything. In spirit peoples may be democratic while anything but democratic in form. England is a monarchy, with a place for lords and dukes, but the people rule.

In some Latin countries there is a reliance upon revolutionary methods which now and again prevents diplomatic recognition by the United States of America—since our nation through its State Department assumes to be the judge and censor of all types of democracy. Yet, if Latin-American revolution meets a national demand, or expresses a national mood, it is in a rough, fierce way democratic. When we look away to peoples like the Chinese it may be hard for us to discern anything democratic, but so far as local self-government is concerned China is the most democratic nation in all history. The trouble with China is that public opinion counts not for too little but for too much. What does Chinese "saving face" mean if not that the determining factor in Chinese life is the opinion of the group? The Chinese have through long periods got along without elaborate legal or police or military systems simply by the pressure of control through public opinion.

I lay emphasis on democracy as an illustration because we Americans think of ourselves as specialists in democracy. If essential democracy can exist under diverse

forms, so also can essential morality. The chief element in morality which we can think of as at all absolute is the will to do right; but just what is right in a given set of circumstances must be determined by study of those circumstances. The same moral impulse in two persons may express itself under quite opposed forms of conduct. *Religion is under the same law.* A fundamentally religious spirit can express itself in various ways in differing racial groups.

This does not mean that all forms of democracy or morality or religion are on the same plane of value. Surely, some forms of democratic procedure are better than others, and moral and religious impulses may express themselves in utterly mistaken and perverted forms. The missionary goes forth to war against all such mistakes, but he must not fall into a supercilious and condescending tendency to condemn or to patronize.

We have spoken of trying to work among nations which are dependencies like India and the Philippines. Here the problem is

tangled and intricate. I doubt if a missionary can be of surpassing value in such countries if he does not sincerely become so much a partisan of the native point of view as to be willing to oppose, if need be, the point of view of his own nation. If in a dependency the suspicion gets abroad into the social consciousness that the dependency is always to be a dependency, and that the foreigner is always to rule, there is no chance of preaching the gospel in any but the most meager measure. Individual souls may indeed be saved, but there is no hope of the social transformation which comes with the liberty of the sons of God. Many careful observers of mission work—some with long personal experience in India—say that even in spite of all the material advantages which England has undoubtedly given India, China will produce a better type of Christianity in the long run, if China remains free while India does not attain to practical self-determination. Dependent peoples to-day are not necessarily in suffering through dependency. The material needs of India and the Philippines are probably better

met than the people could meet them without dependency. The difficulty is more subtle. A tinge of hopelessness sooner or later comes into the spirit of the dependent peoples which leads to dejection in some, rebellion in others, contempt for foreigners in still others. Was it altogether gain that the experiences of the Jews deepened their racial consciousness into the stiff, unyielding quality which we know them to possess? The Jews simply would not be crushed in spirit. That was to their credit. They could not successfully fight as a nation against Babylon or Rome. They, indeed, saved the one religion in the world worth saving, but at a heavy cost to themselves and to the religion itself. Dejection and rebelliousness and contempt are not moods which make for the triumph of the gospel. The same fundamental respect must mark all contacts with the so-called backward, nonadult peoples. The dealing of the forward nations with the backward nations has been thus far one almost unrelieved horror—horror continuing down to the bombing of Hottentots from aeroplanes just a few weeks ago. If the forward na-

tions should from now on till doomsday set themselves to make amends for wrongs done backward nations in the past, they could not wipe out the stains of the long outrage, of peoples slaughtered or corrupted, of forms of culture wiped out beyond recollection, of social ideals hurled down to earth. The first step toward such atonement, however, is this respect on which I lay such wearisome emphasis. The most unenlightened human being in the heart of Africa is a human being, and must be treated as such. He may be "nonadult," but the way we get nonadults on toward manhood is to begin to assume their manhood and to treat them as men. Nonadults are the last persons we ought to rob or kill.

It is the business of the Christian Church in dealing with so-called child, or nonadult peoples, to take them seriously and to teach them to take themselves seriously. There is growing recognition throughout the world to-day of the sinfulness of physically mistreating or robbing these so-called child peoples, though there are still enough dark spots that need looking into. There

is not, I fear, such increasing recognition of the wrong and peril of not taking the problem of the nonadult races seriously.

To begin near home, let us think of the Negro problem in the United States. It is easy to dismiss the whole Negro question with the summary observation that the Negro is a child and belongs to a child-race—this too in contempt of the fact that Negro labor made possible the development of one phase of American civilization, and that the Negro has, since he came into his freedom, made longer strides of progress, in the given period, than any other race in the history of the world. Now, what do we do when we call the Negro a child? Do we recognize in him the serious problem that we recognize in childhood as such? Hardly. We, with rich good humor, encourage him to do the childish things. Negro comedy is refreshingly funny at times, but there is always a tinge of pathos in the reflection that we applaud the Negro most loudly when he is expressing himself in the fashion that brings out most clearly his childish traits. Years ago multitudes of men were inclined to treat the Negro in

kindly manner if he would acquiesce in being a slave. To-day many of us would be glad to treat the Negro kindly if he would be content to remain a child. It is the stride out toward manhood which disturbs us. The rising tide of color is a good sign if it means, as it largely does, that the races which have been looked upon as non-adult are insisting upon being taken seriously.

At the bottom of all sound missionary policy must lie this respect for men as men. It is altogether doubtful if pity can be an adequate missionary motive, for pity is too apt to fall away from respect. It may even end in contempt. To the credit of the missionary be it said that though his work often begins in pity it usually moves up toward increase of respect. It is interesting to note this deepening transformation in a book like that of Dr. Albert Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest.* Dr. Schweitzer was so stirred by the dream of working for the relief of distress in Africa that he resigned a theological professorship, trained himself in medicine and surgery, found the money

for a missionary enterprise, and plunged into equatorial Africa on his errand of pitying mercy. It is most inspiring to note the growth of Schweitzer's respect for the Africans with whom he worked as we read the pages of his book.

Granted, then, the basis of respect, what shall be our practical attitude toward non-Christian peoples? The day is gone when we can put civilization on peoples by force. There must be consent to accept and co-operation in the upward movement. It is doubtful if peoples have ever been culturally transformed except by their own consent. The most serious attempt at Christianization by force ever made was that of Spain in America. On the surface it appears that Spain won a huge civilizing victory by the sword. The Spanish language, the Spanish laws, the Spanish customs were introduced over continent lengths. Still, the victory was only to the extent that the peoples accepted all this themselves. So far as actual force went the best persons of the peoples whom the Spanish met were killed off.

What, then, shall we give the non-Christian peoples? I am not sure that we do well to *give* them anything in the outright sense. What, then, shall we put before them, or recommend to them, or persuade them to take?

The first advice is that we give them the material instruments of our civilization. That is sound enough if we can transmit with the tool the spiritual mastery over the tool. Even backward races learn quickly to master physically the tools of the more favored races. The Red Indians can learn to shoot the white man's rifle most skillfully, but an idea of revengeful fighting quite inconsequential among warriors using bows and arrows may be deadly when a people keep the old idea and shoot the new weapon. Still, the users of guns among the professedly favored races have not been as yet conspicuously successful in controlling the guns. It is to be questioned whether man's ability to use explosives has not far outrun his sense of responsibility in the use of them. Lowell used to say optimistically that God would not have allowed men to get hold of the match box if

the universe had not been fire-proof. Man has certainly got hold of the match box, and it is not by any means clear that the universe is fire-proof.

I was not, however, thinking of guns, except for purposes of illustration. We are getting nearer the heart of the matter when we consider all the material enginery of modern industrialism. There are many among us who look out toward a land like China, a nation too independent and too strong to be forced against her will, and say that what China needs is industrialization, that nobody is going to force industrialization on China, that all that is necessary is to open the mill doors and Chinese will come in by the hundred thousand.

Let us try to follow out in imagination this process of the industrialization of China. It is manifest that the mighty tools of industrialization must come from Europe and America. China has not the capital at command to build railways and mills and to open mines and to develop water and electric power. So Western capital puts the mills on the banks of the

Yangtse, let us say. The people begin to flock in. Wages are dreadfully low, judged by Western standards, but they are better than the wages to which the Chinese workers have been accustomed. Women and children are employed, but otherwise they might earn nothing. For a time all goes promisingly—until the industrialization begins fundamentally to alter the character of Chinese life. That life has always been primarily agricultural. Eighty-five per cent of the Chinese are employed in rural pursuits in one form or another, the cultivation of the soil being of that intensive sort known as spade culture. Under industrialization more and more people will go to the mill centers. As long as mill work is intended only to eke out the income of the farm, as long as it provides work for those who can be spared for a few weeks at a time from farm labor, no considerable harm may be done. To take large numbers of Chinese off the soil permanently, however, might make a change in Chinese society little short of disastrous. The family units would be destroyed, the population as a whole might increase to such an

extent that a season of unemployment would be as fatal as a flood of the Yellow River. If the products of an industrialized China were thrown on the markets of the world, China could undersell other nations which have higher wage scales. Then we should have laws looking not merely to the exclusion of the Chinese from America but to the exclusion of Chinese goods from the entire Occident as well—with havoc for China and for the world. The Chinese work hard now, desperately hard, but at tasks which allow some initiative. The farmer is his own boss—he labors at his own rate of speed. The shop worker at present has interminably long hours, but the work is on a task which he can shape as he will, stopping now and again to chat or to smoke for two or three minutes. Western machinery is likely to be deadly to the Chinese. Even the rickshaw is a horrible destroyer of Chinese vitality. The rickshaw driver's life, as a rickshaw driver, lasts about six years. If he survives six years, he must change his work.

Now, what forces can make the industrialization of China safe for the Chinese?

Can we depend upon the broad-minded humanity of Western capital? Conceivably such capital might do much. It might insist upon safety devices on machinery, upon the best health conditions in the factories, upon kindly treatment of workers in all their contacts with overseers. There would be a stopping point, however. Capital would surely stop in China where it stops in America, namely, at giving the worker any real control over conditions under which he works, or over the general management of the enterprise in which he is engaged. Capital would not consider itself in China for missionary purposes. It is there to make money.

So far as Western civilization is concerned we would have to admit that our industrial instruments would be put upon the Chinese without the safeguards with which we hedge about industrialism in Europe and America. Industrialism has been developed in the Western countries slowly, and as soon as a danger has been discovered some mechanical or legal appliance has been contrived to lessen the danger. Public sentiment has conditioned

the use of our industrial creations. Even with us, nevertheless, the evils of industry are still a threat to our civilization. How much worse when this industrial system is put outright before a land like China, a land with a huge labor force, with none of the legal protections of the West! Public sentiment in the Western lands cannot adequately govern the operation of Western capital when that capital is invested in factories in Eastern lands.

There is nothing left except for the Chinese to handle the matter themselves. This they are indeed able to do, after a fashion. The Chinese have a talent for and skill in organization hardly credible till it is seen at work. They know how to strike and to boycott like past-masters. If, however, Western labor wars are to be transferred to the Orient, the outlook is not bright. The whole problem is dark. If China lets in industrialism without any safeguards, the Chinese people will be hopelessly exploited. If only supplies of raw materials would be used up, the problem would be bad enough, but the waste would be in human forces. If China begins

to fight against industrialization from without, she may find herself confronted by Western militarism in its worst aspect. If as a result of disturbance Western capitalism withdraws altogether, China will suffer a lack of development which she needs.

If Christianity could be introduced in its wider phases, the danger could be controlled. If capitalism could be tamed at home and its ideal of gain replaced by the ideal of service, if the Chinese would so take hold of Christianity as to get a new insight into the value of the individual human life, we could breathe easily. This all brings us back to the consideration that we have here a world-wide problem in which world-wide factors must cooperate. The rising tide of Chinese color is a measure of protest against Western industrialism, and is so far so good. The world is not safe, however, until Chinese public opinion is essentially Christian, and Chinese public opinion cannot be conquered from the outside save by persuasion and reasonableness. Nor is there much sense in talking of the Christianization of Chinese public opinion with the public opinion of

so-called Christian nations so far from Christian.

Let us turn from industry to science. A traveler in China after a short trip comes to the conclusion that what China needs is Western science, or the use of the scientific method in all phases of her activity, not merely in industry but in all phases of life. He deplores the rule-of-thumb inaccuracies which come with the lack of all material or intellectual instruments of precision. He is horrified especially at the crude methods with which disease is met and at the general backwardness of sanitary knowledge. The Chinese language seems to him to be a bungling contrivance which will have to be scrapped before there can be any long leaps ahead. It would be impossible to teach science with a language like that of China as the means of communication.

This all seems simple at a superficial glance, but at bottom we have here an enormous difficulty. Science cannot be introduced to a people without that people's active consent. There is no way of de-

veloping intellectual precision except by self-effort. It is impossible to change a condition as to the health of a community without the intelligent cooperation of that community. Experiences like the fight against cholera in Canton, which was successful, show how well large groups of Chinese can work together for a scientific result, but the adoption of modern medicine and sanitation requires the persuasive education of hundreds of thousands. Such effort in the nature of things calls for willing, hearty, unreserved consent, and the right use of science demands the absorption of a spirit of humanity and an emphasis on human values, an absorption and emphasis by no means yet achieved in the scientific nations. The World War was an illustration of the deadliness of the union of a method completely scientific with a temper incompletely Christian. All of this means a call for the presentation of the deeper and wider Christian life in its most convincing and attractive persuasiveness. The difficulty here is immense but not insuperable. We are caught in a movement from which we cannot draw back. West-

ern science will go into China. It ought not to go in without Christianity. It is the duty of Christianity to enter China. It cannot force an entrance, but must place itself in a position and attitude where it will be freely accepted by the Chinese.

This carries us far. It gives to the Chinese the right and power to shape the type of Christianity which is to be Chinese —the same right which we have insisted on through the centuries for ourselves. How much did early Christianity carry into the Roman Empire except Jesus—his thought of God and of man, his life and his death? From the very beginning the appropriating power of the converts went to work utilizing Greek, Roman, Oriental elements to set forth Jesus. It was so in the beginning, it is so now, it will be so all through the course of human history.

This does not mean that the Oriental peoples will create a new Christianity, though Christianity will vastly expand their creative powers. Progress will go forward by a process of selection. Out of the variety and profusion of Christian beliefs the Orientals will make their own

selection, probably choosing what falls in best with Oriental aptitudes. Some beliefs quite important to us will be allowed to atrophy through disuse. Others which we may not think of as especially vital may be seized upon for large elaboration. As long as the Christ of God and the God of Christ are kept at the center of this development no harm can come. An organism does not swell from an acorn into a tree. It begins to grow, and its growth means that it selects for itself some elements from its environment and casts some previously useful elements out of itself—all in accord with the law of life inherent in the organism itself.

Recurring for the moment to China, we may speak of the exceedingly practical nature of the Chinese. A great French student of Chinese life, Eugene Simon, has pointed out that the Chinese religion is the only one that has not represented manual labor as a curse. Simon may somewhat have overstated his thesis, but he has grasped an essential truth. It is likely that the development of Christianity in Chinese hands will seize on its practical

phases. A year or two ago there was hope in some circles and fear in others that the Chinese would take hold of the extreme forms of premillenarianism which are so popular with some Christian teachers at home and abroad to-day. After the Shanghai Christian Conference in May, 1922, it became clear that there was small likelihood of such acceptance of premillenarianism by the Chinese. The doctrine is too much up in the air, too spectacular, too remote from the obvious significance of Christianity. The Chinese will no doubt listen to the more fine-spun of the Christian doctrines with due deference and respect, but that will be all.

This brings us to consider the wisdom of getting the power of the church in China into Chinese hands at the earliest practicable date. We must hold to an international church, provided we can get one that is truly international. A national church brings into Christianity something that may prove alien to Christianity, for in its essence Christianity is not merely national. A Christian organization may

indeed take advantage of a national spirit to set Christianity on high, but the national spirit must be kept in the secondary place. Otherwise let a war drum sound and the national spirit takes control, to the utter exclusion of the spirit of Christ.

The difficulty is that we do not yet have an international Protestant Church. Take the situation in Methodism. The General Conference is the supreme law-making body. The overwhelming majority in that body come from the United States. The delegates from China and India are interested onlookers. The Negroes from the United States are the only representatives of any race other than the white who get any effective vote except when an issue is decided by a narrow margin. Once in a General Conference of which I was a member it appeared that a particular measure which had carried by a small margin had been supported by all the votes of foreign delegates. I shall not soon forget the horror with which an ecclesiastical leader, himself an elequent advocate of missions, cried out against the foreign votes settling a question which was distinctively peculiar

to the United States. Yet that same churchman had repeatedly voted to settle questions distinctively foreign.

When I say that the power should more and more pass to the foreign field itself I mean to the natives on that field. Often missionaries clamor for more power for the foreign field, but all they may mean is that they do not want the missionary policies settled in a New York office. They may not mean that they want the natives to have decisive power. It is bad to have bishops or secretaries from America clothed with large authority over foreign workers in the land of those workers themselves. It is doubtful if any but the exceptional human being is wise enough or good enough to have authority in spiritual concerns over a native in another country. Such power is almost always an evil for the officials themselves. Episcopacies and secretaryships are safe only when those who have to undergo the supervision will talk back, if need be. The most sturdy Chinese or Indians, through considerations of courtesy, if of nothing else, are too reluctant to speak in criticism or protest against Amer-

ican ecclesiastical officials. If the supervised will not speak out, the supervisor almost inevitably becomes a dictator, often an autocrat, sometimes a tyrant, occasionally a bully.

It must be remembered that those coming into Christianity from outside peoples must be persuaded to take, or at least to try out, the elements of Christianity which promise most for those new converts. Teachers do better as teachers when they are stripped of authority. The world as a whole is not an educational institution run on the elective plan, but Christianity has to be run on the elective plan if it is to succeed at all. The Christian freely chooses to be a Christian in the first place, and he elects and selects from Christianity thereafter the parts that minister to his spiritual needs. He himself is the best judge as to what meets those needs.

Will it not make for less efficient Christian progress if we turn over to Chinese or Indian peoples themselves larger and larger measures of ecclesiastical responsibility? It will, at least for a time, but here we have to ask the old democratic question: Which

is better for a people—a good system administered from outside, or one not so good administered by the people themselves? Remember that we are asking that missionaries still work on foreign fields, but that they should not have control. Let their power be that of influence rather than that of authority. The whole idea of authority should drop out of their minds. They should even beware of any appearance of alliance with governmental or diplomatic authorities, except as they appear as advocates of the people themselves among whom they are working. Missionaries should avoid making any appeal to governmental authority, or giving impression that any government, home or foreign, is "back of them." The pernicious practice of seeking the help of "key-men" in a foreign land is pernicious because in almost all foreign lands key-men are key-men because of relation to governmental or commercial interests. In any case they stand for the type of authority that thwarts the gospel. The authority sought for should be that of the growing Christian public sentiment of the people among whom

the missionary works—and that authority should find its own expression.

The relation of Christianity to the so-called nonadult peoples constitutes the hardest problem. China and Japan and India can be trusted ultimately to shift for themselves. As to the nonadult peoples it may be said that the duty of the church is to stand as their champion against the encroachments of the white man's civilization. It is doubtful if Christian civilization can ever actually overtake the Christian ideals, so that the contact of civilization with noncivilization must be always watched. Suppose the three great principles that admittedly would make an ideal relationship between the so-called forward nations and the so-called backward nations to be universally adopted—the principle that the relationship is to be conceived of in terms of the good of all humanity, that the relationship must be for the welfare of the backward peoples, that if any incidental advantage accrue, after the above conditions have been met, such advantage go to the civilized nation imme-

diately responsible for a given backward nation. Let us assume that these principles are heartily and unanimously put into effect by the nations of the earth. In every one of the principles there are possibilities of abuse.

Take the first principle, the good of all humanity. Here are mighty riches in the tropics. Are these riches the property of the races who happen to live in the tropics? Let us imagine a tropical island on which grows a valuable medicinal plant of importance to mankind everywhere. The natives do not cultivate the plant except in the most haphazard fashion. They do not bring out to its full possibilities the development of the herb. There are comparatively few native islanders all told. Is it fair to suffering humanity to allow this handful of natives to stand in the way of medicinal progress just because they happen to own the island? Does not humanity have a right of eminent domain over all such treasures? Does the mere fact that the natives were born on the island give them the right to raise or neglect the medicinal plant as they please?

We do not go far on this track till we find ourselves in an ethical thicket. I do not see how, in such a supposed case, we could deny that the interests of humanity have the right of way. If the people of the island were fairly treated, if they were not robbed or abused, I can see most excellent moral reasons for civilization's taking over the island, giving the owners reasonable compensation, and cultivating the plant according to most scientific methods. The case as thus assumed seems clear.

The questions arise when we get away from the assumed case and move to actual facts. What about rubber, oil, coal, water-power? Are we to conclude that because possibilities like these are locked up in noncivilized countries the countries outside are to have nothing to say about the development of such resources? The only way out is a conscientiously assumed trusteeship on the part of the civilized nations, a trusteeship that will guard the resources themselves against wastefulness and the natives against chance of robbery.

Why not leave all this to the private initiative of present-day capitalism? Why

not, indeed! How many millions of brass rods and glass beads would it require to make an adequate return to central African tribes for the loss of rights in tropical possessions which they have always held? What reason is there for letting the immense profits of such tropical enterprises go to the private pockets of investors five thousand miles from the tropics? The safety is in action for the benefit of mankind as a whole, with conscience kept alert and sensitive—oversensitive rather than undersensitive—by the insistence of Christian leaders or agitators. Here would be a worthy field for the agitator's constant lashing and scourging. Only such agitation would keep the international conscience from becoming drowsy and callous.

The second principle is regard for the good of the backward peoples dealt with. Here again is grave danger. To ordinary civilized man it seems a good thing for the uncivilized to be put to work. The most distressing aspect of African life, let us say, to the professedly civilized man is the laziness of that life. Now, to get the riches of the African tropics out to the world re-

quires labor, labor that the white man cannot perform as can the black. It is clear indeed that the conquest of the tropics is to go far enough to enable small numbers of white men to live in them. By precautions against mosquito infection, by artificial cooling of houses, by regular vacations in a temperate clime it is possible for white men to exist in the tropics. The heavy manual work, however, must be done by black men. Three reasons can be given for making the labor of the black man compulsory: the work is necessary if the world is to have tropical products; the work is but a fair return by the black for the blessings of security and protection which he receives from the outside nation, a return paid in labor rather than in taxes; the cultivation of habits of industry is good for the black man. In the face of the fact that unselfish missionaries—undoubted friends of the African—have given their approval to schemes of compulsory labor, we must not hastily pass judgment against such policy.

Still, the whole plan bristles with perils. Let it be granted that with a scheme of

compulsory labor the overseeing nation will take care that no abuse at all remediable is tolerated. Nevertheless, the attempt to fit dwellers in a tropic land into anything at all resembling Western industrialism is a most hazardous venture. It is not so much that the native's body does not make its adjustment as that the native's mind does not make its adjustment. Then we have all the horrors of rebellion stamped out by the white man's punishments, or we have the death of the native soul, which is worse. The sluggishness engendered by the climate is not the only reason why the African has been an unwilling worker for outsiders. All through the centuries the black man has worked hard enough, but with a tendency to slipshodness. All through the centuries the African has had the idea—a just idea too—that he has been working to make some one else rich. A whole civilization in the Southern States of America was built up on his practically unrequited toil. Compulsory labor, to an African, must be only slightly different from slavery. The African may be a benighted mind, but he has always known

that he has required little of food and clothing for himself. He has known that he has worked much longer every day than the hour or two required to meet his own needs. Where has the rest of the product of his labor gone? Even a non-adult mind can ask that question; and the adult mind is not overprompt in replying.

It is almost impossible for any mind to know how to set about doing good for a mind of another race, especially when the minds are separated by the abyss between differing stages of cultural development. The intention on the part of the Christian nations to do good to other nations less advanced than themselves is worthy enough, but it must be supplemented by almost superhuman intelligence and imagination. When it is agreed that the particular advanced nation responsible for a backward nation is to have whatever advantage there may be left after the backward people has been benefited, the problem is serious indeed.

There are those who, confronted by such a maze of difficulties, declare that the attempt to civilize and Christianize the back-

ward peoples is a failure. Let such peoples go their own paths. Let them keep their own type of cultural life. Better have them return to the old ways of tribal war and slaughter than to have them ruled over by outsiders. Their own religions, crude as they are from our point of view, are better than religions imposed from without.

This would abandon the problem altogether. It is not, however, justifiable to have peoples now backward go backward still further. Is it preferable to have a medicine-man stick a needle into a baby's eye to let out a devil rather than to have a skilled surgeon operate to let out pus? The Christian idea of God and man is better than any non-Christian idea of God and man. These lines are written, however, in the conviction that the choice is not between compulsion and abandonment. There is a more excellent way, even the way of Paul's lofty flight in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. In respect and charity for the non-Christian the goods of Christianity can be set before the non-Christian world, for the non-Christian to

select from them, to receive them with sympathetic instruction and persuasion by the Christian, to receive them, as the scholastics put it, after the manner of the one receiving. The grasping hand will put its mark upon what it grasps. Christianity will "seize" the non-Christian world, and that world will "seize" Christianity, the seizures being mutually effective and determining. In the end will come that world-wide absorption in a world-wide task which will make a world-wide body of Christ, with the organs of that body developing into finer and richer diversity and distinctiveness.

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